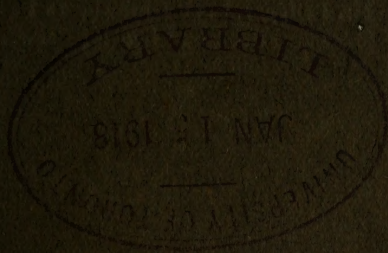


AIMS AND EFFORT OF THE WAR

Britain's
Case
After
Four
Years



NATIONAL WAR AIMS COMMITTEE.

Distributed by W. H. Smith & Son, London.

1918



3 1761 09427018 8

Message Series.

1. Rudyard Kipling: "If We Fail—"
2. General Smuts: "The World Awakened."
3. President Wilson: "The Conditions of Peace."
4. Mr. Asquith: "International Partnership."
5. Mr. Balfour: "The Obstacles to Peace."
6. Mr. Lloyd George: "Looking Forward."

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NOTES.

I.

WAR AIMS.

I

THE BRITISH WAR AIMS.

THE British War Aims were clearly outlined by Mr. Lloyd George as Prime Minister, at the Central Hall, Westminster, on January 5, 1918. In outline they are as follows:—

What We Are Not Fighting For.

We are not fighting a war of aggression against the German people.

The destruction or disruption of Germany or of the German people has never been a war-aim with us from the first day of this war to this day. Nor are we fighting to destroy Austria-Hungary, or to deprive Turkey of its capital, or of the rich and renowned lands of Asia Minor and Thrace, which are predominantly Turkish in race.

What We Are Fighting For.

(I.) EUROPE

Complete restoration, political, territorial and economic, of the independence of Belgium and such reparation as can be made for the devastation of its towns and provinces.

Restoration of Serbia, Montenegro, and the occupied parts of France, Italy, and Rumania.

Complete withdrawal of the alien armies and reparation for injustice done, a fundamental condition of permanent peace.

5 We stand by the French democracy to the death in their demand for a reconsideration of the great wrong of 1871, when, without regard to the wishes of the population, two French provinces were torn from the side of France and incorporated in the German Empire.

C An independent Poland, comprising all those genuinely Polish elements who desire to form part of it, is an urgent necessity for the stability of Europe.

7 Genuine self-government on true democratic principles to those Austro-Hungarian nationalities who have long desired it.

8 Satisfaction of the legitimate claims of the Italians for union with those of their own race and tongue.

9 Justice to men of Rumanian blood and speech in their legitimate aspirations.

(2.) ASIA AND AFRICA

10 Passage between the Mediterranean and the Black Sea to be internationalised and neutralised.

11 Arabia, Armenia, Mesopotamia, Syria and Palestine entitled to recognition of their separate national conditions.

12 German Colonies to be held at the disposal of a Conference whose decision must have primary regard to the wishes and interests of the native inhabitants of such Colonies.

The governing consideration in all these cases must be that the inhabitants should be placed under the control of an administration acceptable to themselves, one of whose main purposes will be to prevent their exploitation for the benefit of European capitalists or governments.

(3.) THE BASES OF A LASTING PEACE

Sanctity of treaties to be re-established.

Reparation for injuries done in violation of international law.

A territorial settlement to be secured, based on the right of self-determination or the consent of the governed.

The creation of some international organisation to limit the burden of armaments and diminish the probability of war.

French Agreement.

The unity of these aims with those of France was shown in the message sent to Mr. Lloyd George immediately by M. Clemenceau, Prime Minister of France, who said:

"I hasten to send you my heartiest congratulations and those of all Frenchmen on the admirable speech in which you have so happily summarised the actual truths that we must never grow weary in affirming against German falsehoods."

Labour Agreement.

Mr. Arthur Henderson has declared (January 5, 1918) the essential unity of these war aims with those of Labour when he said:

"Labour stands, as it has always stood, for the absolute freedom and integrity of Belgium, Serbia, Rumania and Montenegro, and for the establishment on a firm basis of a League of Nations and Peoples for disarmament and the prevention of future wars. These things constitute our irreducible minimum, and if we secure this we desire the fullest resumption of international intercourse and the complete repudiation of all attempts at economic war or boycott."—(See also *Labour War Aims*, page 13.)

The Aims are Unchanged.

Mr. Lloyd George's speech simply defined with great clearness and fuller detail the aims that had been set out from the beginning of the war by Sir Edward (now Viscount) Grey in his speech on August 3, 1914; by Mr. Asquith, on November 9, 1914; and by Mr. Balfour in his despatch to the British Ambassador at Washington as a covering letter to the Allies' Reply to President Wilson's Peace note communicated to the United States Government on January 16, 1917.

Mr. Asquith's first and reiterated declaration of war aims was this :

"We shall never sheathe the sword until Belgium recovers in full measure all, and more than all, that she has sacrificed, until France is adequately secured against the menace of aggression, until the rights of the smaller nationalities of Europe are placed upon an unassailable foundation, and until the military domination of Prussia is wholly and finally destroyed."—(*Guildhall, November 9, 1914.*)

That declaration Mr. Asquith has never varied ; he has repeated it with emphasis many times. He repeated it word for word in the House of Commons, February 23, 1916, adding the words "and Serbia" after Belgium.

The Empire not "Imperialistic."

British Statesmen* have reiterated that our aims in the war are "neither imperialistic nor vindictive."

* Lord Robert Cecil, House of Commons, May 16, 1917 ; Mr. Asquith, November 7, 1917.

The British Empire itself does not aim at domination, nor is it held together by desire for domination as has been the case with every other empire that the world has known and as is particularly the case with Germany.

The word "Empire" sent the German leaders to their text-books. They saw the Egyptian, the Assyrian, the Babylonian, the Greek, the Roman, the Spanish Empires based on military domination. They rooted their own theory and practice of Empire in the idea of rule thrust upon unwilling subjects. The British Empire rejects that definition. It is not in that sense an Empire; rather is it a league of self-governing nations, blended with Dependencies that are in training for self-rule—a colossal experiment in international government with a minimum of compulsion and a maximum of freedom. Thus the silk strands do not snap. They are stronger than the iron bands of Germany. Germany did not destroy the British Empire; she gave it a new revelation of itself. She expected disruption, or at least apathy, and she discovered young nations shoulder to shoulder in one unbreakable rank. She proclaimed our decadent softness—and whole armies of conquering virility confronted her.

The British Commonwealth of Nations.

The British Empire has, in fact, been more accurately described by General Smuts as "The British Commonwealth of Nations." General Smuts said*:

"We are not a State, but a community of States

* In a speech in the Royal Gallery at the House of Lords, May 15, 1917.

and Nations . . . a dynamic evolving system, always going forward to new destinies. All the empires we have known in the past and that exist to-day are founded on the idea of assimilation, of trying to force human material into one mould. Your whole idea and basis is entirely different. This **BRITISH COMMONWEALTH OF NATIONS** does not stand for standardisation or denationalisation, but for the fuller, richer and more various life of all the nations comprised in it. Even the nations which have fought against it, like my own, must feel that their cultural interests, their language, their religion, are as safe and as secure under the British flag as those of the children of your own household and your own blood."

There is no greater and more convincing proof of the essential freedom of all the peoples within the British Empire than the fact that all the self-governing Dominions and India simultaneously and spontaneously leapt to the help of the mother-country. Their war aims were her war aims—the liberation of the democracies of the world from the fear of Prussian domination.

The War Aims of the Empire.

General Smuts' statement of the war aims of the Empire itself has special weight as coming from one who himself fought against that Empire, to become one of its most loyal sons. In his speech of May 15, 1917, General Smuts said:

"If there is to be peace in future in the world, then there must be created as a basis for it, a strong, healthy, sound public opinion . . . which will see that Governments are kept in order. . . . **THE WAR HAS CARRIED US TO THE DEPTHS,**

LET US BUILD FROM THE DEPTHS. . . .

One of the most important conditions of future peace is a treaty which will establish that nations will no longer, as in former years, be disposed of by alien statesmen and Governments, that they will not be parcelled and chopped up so as to be divided among the big Powers of the world, that they shall have the chance to decide their own fate. On that basis alone—the basis of the national—will you be able to build the system of the super-national, the international, which we are aiming at.

“This war has not been fought, at any rate as far as we are concerned, for the purpose of gain or material interests. Millions of men have given their lives in this war, millions more are prepared to give their lives in this war, in order to achieve a good peace and to ensure it for the future, and I think it would be the proper course that the peace treaty which is concluded after this war shall contain as an integral part of it the fundamental provisions, not in detail, but in principle, which will safeguard the future peace of the world. If that is done, I am sure that out of the horrors and sorrows of this, probably the greatest tragedy of the world, will have been born a great hope for the future of the world, and in that way this peace treaty will become a real Magna Charta for the whole of humanity.”

(For the contributions of the British Empire to the war, see page 54.)

German Ambassador on British Aims.

However sceptical an enemy or even a critical neutral might be as to the truth of the declarations made by British Statesmen in regard to the spirit and aim of British policy, he must find it impos-

sible to resist with an open mind the testimony of the German Ambassador who lived in England during the two years preceding the war. Prince Lichnowsky, who was German Ambassador in London from 1912 till the outbreak of war in August, 1914, wrote a private memorandum which came to light in 1918, from which the following salient passages are quoted* :—

SIR EDWARD GREY'S SPIRIT.

"Shortly after my arrival in London, at the end of 1912, Sir E. Grey proposed an informal conversation to prevent the Balkan War developing into a European one. . . . Sir E. Grey conducted the negotiations with circumspection, calm and tact. When a question threatened to become involved, he sketched a formula for agreement which was to the point, and was always accepted. His personality inspired equal confidence in all the participants."

"GOOD AND CONFIDENTIAL RELATIONS."

"The good and confidential relations which I had succeeded in establishing . . . produced a marked improvement in the relations of the two countries. Sir Edward honestly tried to confirm this rapprochement, and his intentions were most apparent on two questions—the Colonial and the Bagdad Railway Treaties."

GERMAN COLONIAL EMPIRE.

On the question of the Colonies—"Thanks to the accommodating attitude of the British Government I succeeded in making the new agreement

* For the full text see "My Mission to London, 1912-1914," by Prince Lichnowsky, with a preface by Professor Gilbert Murray (Cassell and Co.), and for the salient points see "Guilty!" (N.W.A.C.).

fully accord with our wishes and interests." . . .

"The British Government showed the greatest consideration for our interests and wishes. Sir E. Grey intended to demonstrate his goodwill towards us, but *he also wished to assist our colonial development as a whole.*"

Sir E. Grey was only willing to sign if the agreement were published together with those of 1898 and 1899. England had, as he said, no other secret treaties besides these, and it was contrary to established principles to keep binding agreements secret.

"By the (Bagdad) Treaty the whole of Mesopotamia as far as Basra was included within our sphere of influence (without prejudice to already existing navigation rights on the Tigris and the rights of the Wilcox irrigation works), as well as the whole district of the Bagdad and Anatolian railway."

"A YEAR'S PAUSE IN ARMAMENTS."

"During my tenure of office Mr. Churchill, then First Lord of the Admiralty, proposed, as is known, the so-called 'Naval holiday' and suggested . . . a year's pause in armaments . . . I am convinced that his suggestion was honest, as prevarication is altogether foreign to English nature."

COMMON ECONOMIC INTERESTS.

"The 'commercial jealousy,' about which we hear so much, is based on a wrong conception of the circumstances. The increasing commerce with Germany, which was the leading country in Europe as regards British exports . . . had given rise to the wish to maintain friendly relations with their best customer and business friend. . . . Notably in commercial circles I encountered the

most friendly spirit and the endeavour to further our common economic interests."

KING GEORGE'S GOODWILL.

"The King demonstrated his goodwill towards me and was frankly desirous of furthering my task."

SIR EDWARD GREY AND MR. ASQUITH.

"The simplicity and honesty of Sir E. Grey's ways secured him the esteem even of his opponents, who were to be found rather in the sphere of home affairs than of foreign policy. Lies and intrigue are equally repugnant to him. . .

"This is a true picture of the man who is decried as 'Liar-Grey,' and instigator of the world-war.

"Mr. Asquith, when I called on him on the 2nd August to make a last effort in the direction of expectant neutrality, was quite broken, though absolutely calm. Tears were coursing down his cheeks."

THE DECISIVE CONFERENCE OF JULY 5.

"Soon after my arrival I obtained the conviction that under no circumstances had we to fear a British attack or British support for any foreign attack, but that under any circumstances England would protect the French. I expressed this view in repeated despatches, with minute proof and great emphasis, but did not obtain any credence.

"On my return from Silesia to London I stopped only a few hours in Berlin, where I heard that Austria intended to take steps against Serbia in order to put an end to an impossible situation.

"Subsequently I ascertained that, at the decisive conference at Potsdam on the 5th July, the Vienna inquiry received the unqualified assent of all the leading people, and with the rider that no

harm would be done if a war with Russia should result.

"Needless to say, a mere hint from Berlin would have decided Count Berchtold to content himself with a diplomatic success, and to accept the Serbian reply. *This hint was not given; on the contrary they urged in the direction of war.* Our White Book, owing to the poverty of its contents and to omissions, is a gravely self-accusing document.

"WE INSISTED ON WAR."

"After our refusal Sir Edward requested us to submit a proposal. WE INSISTED ON WAR.

"Repeatedly the Minister (Sir Edward Grey) said to me: 'If war breaks out, it will be the greatest catastrophe the world has ever seen.'

"Before my departure Sir E. Grey received me, on the 5th, at his house. I had called at his request. He was deeply moved. He told me he would always be prepared to mediate. 'We don't want to crush Germany.'

"A special train took us to Harwich, where a guard of honour was drawn up for me. I was treated like a departing Sovereign. Such was the end of my London mission. IT WAS WRECKED, NOT BY THE WILES OF THE BRITISH, BUT BY THE WILES OF OUR POLICY.

"In view of the undeniable facts it is no wonder that the whole of the civilised world outside Germany places the entire responsibility for the world-war upon our shoulders."

(b) British Labour War Aims.

British Labour issued a Memorandum on War Aims, which was approved by the Special Conference Aims of Labour, held at the Central Hall,

Westminster, December 28, 1917. The outline of those aims is as follows:

“Of all the war aims, none is so important to the peoples of the world as that there should be henceforth on earth no more war. Whoever triumphs the peoples will have lost, unless some effective means of preventing war can be found. As means to this end the British Labour Movement relies very largely upon the complete democratisation of all countries; on the frank abandonment of every form of “Imperialism”; on the suppression of secret diplomacy and on the placing of foreign policy, just as much as home policy, under the control of popularly elected Legislatures; on the absolute responsibility of the Foreign Minister of each country to its Legislature; on such concerted action as may be possible for the universal abolition of compulsory military service in all countries, the common limitation of costly armaments by which all the peoples are burdened, and the entire abolition of profit-making armament firms, whose pecuniary interest lies always in war scares and rivalry in preparation for war. But it demands, in addition, that it should be an essential part of the Treaty of Peace itself that there should be forthwith established a Super-National Authority, or League of Nations, which should not only be adhered to by all the present belligerents, but which every other independent sovereign State in the world should be pressed to join.

“Not only restitution and reparation, but also certain territorial readjustments are required, if a renewal of armaments of war is to be avoided. These readjustments must be such as can be arrived at by common agreement on the general principle of allowing only peoples to settle their

own destinies, and for the purpose of removing any obvious cause of future international conflict.

REPARATION BY GERMANY.

"The British Labour Movement emphatically insists that a foremost condition of Peace must be the reparation by the German Government, under the direction of an International Commission, of the wrong admittedly done to Belgium; payment by that Government for all the damage that has resulted from this wrong; and the restoration of Belgium to complete and untrammelled independent sovereignty, leaving to the decision of the Belgian people the determination of their own future policy in all respects.

"The British Labour Movement reaffirms its reprobation of the crime against the peace of the world by which Alsace and Lorraine were forcibly torn from France in 1871, a political blunder the effects of which have contributed in no small degree to the continuance of unrest and the growth of militarism in Europe; and, profoundly sympathising with the unfortunate inhabitants of Alsace and Lorraine, who have been subjected to so much repression, says, in accordance with the declarations of the French Socialists, that they shall be allowed, under the protection of the Super-National Authority, or League of Nations, freely to decide what shall be their future political position.

"The British Labour Movement suggests that the whole problem of the reorganisation of the administration of the peoples of the Balkan Peninsula might be dealt with by a Special Conference of their representatives, or by an authoritative International Commission on the basis of (a) the complete freedom of these peoples to settle their own destinies, irrespective of Austrian, Turkish, or other foreign dominion; (b) the independent

sovereignties of the several nationalities in those districts in which these are largely predominant ; (c) the universal adoption of religious tolerance, the equal citizenship of all races, and local autonomy ; (d) a Customs Union embracing the whole of the Balkan States ; (e) the entry of all the Balkan National States into a Federation for the concerted arrangement by mutual agreement among themselves for all matters of common concern.

"The British Labour Movement declares its warmest sympathy with the people of Italian blood and speech who have been left outside the inconvenient and indefensible boundaries that have, as a result of the diplomatic agreements of the past, been assigned to the kingdom of Italy, and supports their claim to be united with those of their own race and tongue.

EACH PEOPLE TO SETTLE ITS OWN DESTINY.

"With regard to the other cases in dispute, the British Labour Movement relies as the only way of achieving a lasting settlement on the application of the principle of allowing each people to settle its own destiny.

"Palestine should be set free from the harsh and oppressive government of the Turks, in order that this country may form a Free State, under international guarantee, to which such of the Jewish people as desire to do so may return, and may work out their own salvation free from interference by those of alien race or religion.

"The British Labour Movement condemns the handing back to the universally execrated rule of the Turkish Government any subject people. Thus, whatever may be proposed with regard to Armenia, Mesopotamia, and Arabia, they cannot be restored to the tyranny of the Sultan and his Pashas. They should be placed for administration

in the hands of a Commission acting under the Super-National Authority, or League of Nations. It is further suggested that the peace of the world requires that Constantinople should be made a free port, permanently neutralised, and placed (together with both shores of the Dardanelles and possibly some or all of Asia Minor) under the same impartial administration.

"The transfer of the present Colonies of the European Powers in Tropical Africa, however the limits of this area may be defined, to the proposed Super-National Authority, or League of Nations, herein suggested; and their administration under the Legislative Council of that Authority as a single independent African State with its own trained staff, on the principle of (1) taking account in each locality of the wishes of the people, when these can be ascertained; (2) protection of the natives against exploitation and oppression and the preservation of their tribal interests; (3) all revenue raised to be expended for the welfare and development of the African State itself; and (4) the permanent neutralisation of this African State and its abstention from participation in international rivalries or any future wars.

"The British Labour Movement urges upon the Labour Parties of all countries the importance of insisting, in the attitude of the Government towards commercial enterprise, along with the necessary control of supplies for its own people, on the principle of the open door, on Customs Duties being limited strictly to revenue purposes, and on there being no hostile discrimination against foreign countries.

INVESTIGATION OF ATROCITIES.

"The British Labour Movement will not be satisfied unless there is a full and free judicial investi-

gation into the accusations made on all sides that particular Governments have ordered, and particular officers have exercised, acts of cruelty, oppression, violence, and theft against individual victims, for which no justification can be found in the ordinary usages of war. It draws attention, in particular, to the loss of life and property of merchant seamen and other non-combatants (including women and children) resulting from this inhuman and ruthless conduct. It should be part of the conditions of peace that there should be forthwith set up a Court of Claims and Accusations, which should investigate all such allegations as may be brought before it, summon the accused person or Government to answer the complaint, to pronounce judgment, and award compensation or damages, payable by the individual or Government condemned, to the persons who had suffered wrong, or to their dependents." *

The War Aims of British Labour coincide almost to the smallest details with those of the Conference of the Socialist and Labour Parties of the Allied Nations which, on February 14, 1915, declared:—

"The invasion of Belgium and France by the German Armies threatens the very existence of independent nationalities, and strikes a blow at all faith in treaties. In these circumstances a victory for German Imperialism would be the defeat and the destruction of democracy and liberty in Europe. The Socialists of Great Britain, Belgium, France, and Russia do not pursue the political and economic crushing of Germany; they are not at war with the peoples of Germany and Austria, but

* See "The War Aims of the British People" (Hodder and Stoughton); "The Aims of Labour" (Headley Bros.).

only with the Governments of those countries by which they are oppressed. They demand that Belgium shall be liberated and compensated. They desire that the question of Poland shall be settled in accordance with the wishes of the Polish people, either in the sense of autonomy in the midst of another State, or in that of complete independence. They wish that throughout all Europe, from Alsace-Lorraine to the Balkans, those populations that have been annexed by force shall receive the right freely to dispose of themselves.

"The victory of the Allied Powers must be a victory for popular liberty, for unity, independence, and autonomy of the nations in the peaceful Federation of the United States of Europe and the world."

2

THE ALLIED WAR AIMS.

The War Aims of the Allies as a whole, set out on January 16, 1917*, in reply to President Wilson's Peace Note were, in outline, as follows:

"These aims can only be formulated in detail, with all the just compensations and indemnities due for the losses suffered, when the moment for negotiation arrives. But the civilised world knows that they include, primarily and of necessity:

"The restoration of Belgium, of Serbia, and of Montenegro, with the compensations due to them.

"The evacuation of the invaded territories in

* Mr. Balfour's Despatch, addressed to the British Ambassador at Washington, and communicated to the United States Government on January 16, 1917.

France, Russia, and Rumania, with fitting reparation.

"The reorganisation of Europe, guaranteed by a stable settlement, based alike upon the principle of nationalities, on the right which all peoples, whether small or great, have to the enjoyment of full security and free economic development, and also upon territorial agreements and international arrangements so framed as to guarantee land and sea frontiers against unjust attacks.

"The restitution of provinces or territories formerly torn from the Allies by force or contrary to the wishes of their inhabitants.

"The liberation of Italians, Slavs, Rumanians, Czechs, and Slovaks from foreign domination.

"The liberation of the peoples who now lie beneath the murderous tyranny of the Turks, and the expulsion from Europe of the Ottoman Empire, which has proved itself so radically alien to Western civilisation."

In his letter which accompanied this statement, Mr. Balfour defined the essential conditions by which the supreme war aim of a durable peace could be secured.

"The people of this country," he wrote, "share to the full the desire of the President for peace; they do not believe that peace can be durable if it be not based on the success of the Allied cause. For a durable peace can hardly be expected unless three conditions are fulfilled:—

"The *first* is that the existing causes of international unrest should be, as far as possible, removed or weakened.

"The *second* is that the aggressive aims and the unscrupulous methods of the Central Powers should fall into disrepute among their own peoples.

"The *third* is that behind international law and behind all the treaty arrangements for preventing or limiting hostilities some form of international sanction should be devised which would give pause to the hardest aggressor.

"Those conditions may be difficult of fulfilment. But we believe them to be in general harmony with the President's ideals, and we are confident that none of them can be satisfied, even imperfectly, unless peace be secured on the general lines indicated (so far as Europe is concerned) in the Joint Note."

3

AMERICA'S WAR AIMS.

President Wilson, in the speeches by which he has guided his own people and kept clear the mind and unified the will of the democracies of the world, has reiterated with increasing emphasis the aims with which the American people have gone to war.

In his speech to Congress on April 2, 1917, President Wilson said:

"Our object is to vindicate the principles of peace and justice in the life of the world as against selfish autocratic power, and to set up amongst really free and self-governed peoples of the world such a concert of purpose and action as will henceforth ensure the observance of these principles.

"Neutrality is no longer feasible or desirable where the peace of the world is involved and the freedom of the peoples, and the menace to that peace and freedom lies in the existence of autocratic Governments backed by organised force which is controlled wholly by their will and not by the will of their people. . . .

"A steadfast concert for peace can never be maintained except by the partnership of democratic nations. . . .

"The World Safe for Democracy."

"We are now about to accept the gage of battle with this natural foe to liberty, and shall, if necessary, spend the whole force of the nation to check and nullify its pretensions and its power. We are glad, now that we see facts with no veil of false pretence about them, to fight thus for the ultimate peace of the world, for the liberation of its peoples—the German peoples included—the rights of nations great and small, and the privilege of men everywhere to choose their way of life and obedience. The world must be safe for democracy. Its peace must be planted upon trusted foundations of political liberty.

"We have no selfish ends to serve. We desire no conquests and no dominion. We seek no indemnities for ourselves and no material compensation for sacrifices we shall freely make. We are but one of the champions of the rights of mankind, and shall be satisfied when these rights are as secure as fact and the freedom of nations can make them.

"Civilisation itself seems to be in the balance; but right is more precious than peace, and we shall fight for the things which we have always carried nearest our hearts—for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own government, for the rights and liberties of small nations, for the universal dominion of right by such a concert of free peoples as will bring peace and safety to all nations and make the world itself at last free."

"To Win the War."

President Wilson developed the theme in his reply to the Pope's Peace Note, August 27, 1917, and in his speech to Congress on December 4, 1917, when he proclaimed the fixed purpose of America :

"Let there be no misunderstanding. Our present and immediate task is to win the war, and nothing shall turn us aside from it until it is accomplished. Every power and resource we possess, whether of men, of money, or of materials, is being devoted, and will continue to be devoted, to that purpose until it is achieved. Those who desire to bring peace about before that purpose is achieved I counsel to carry their advice elsewhere. We will not entertain it. We shall regard the war as won only when the German people say to us, through properly accredited representatives, that they are ready to agree to a settlement based upon justice and a reparation of the wrongs their rulers have done.

"They have done a wrong to Belgium which must be repaired. They have established a power over other lands and peoples than their own—over the great Empire of Austria-Hungary, over the hitherto free Balkan States, over Turkey and within Asia—which must be relinquished. . . .

"The peace we make must deliver the once fair lands and happy peoples of Belgium and Northern France from the Prussian conquest and the Prussian menace, but it must also deliver the peoples of Austria-Hungary, the peoples of the Balkans, and the peoples of Turkey, alike in Europe and in Asia, from the impudent and alien dominion of the Prussian military and commercial autocracy. We owe it, however, to ourselves to say that we do not wish in any way to impair or to rearrange

the Austro-Hungarian Empire. It is no affair of ours what they do with their own life, either industrially or politically. . . . We shall hope to secure for the peoples of the Balkan Peninsula and for the people of the Turkish Empire the right and opportunity to make their own lives safe, their own fortunes secure, against oppression or injustice, and from the dictation of foreign Courts or parties.

"And our attitude and purpose with regard to Germany herself are of a like kind. We intend no wrong against the German Empire, no interference with her internal affairs. . . . No one is threatening the existence, or the independence, or the peaceful enterprise of the German Empire."

"Force to the Uttermost."

The launching of the new German offensive after the Brest-Litovsk negotiations and treaties—an offensive which in essence amounted to the initiation of a new war—brought any elements in America that had not been wholly enthusiastic into a fiery and grim determination to punish the new aggression with final and complete defeat.

President Wilson gave a shining spear-head to the American resolve and expressed the Allied and British view when he said :

"To propose anything but justice, even-handed and dispassionate justice to Germany at any time whatever the outcome of the war, would be to renounce and dishonour our own cause. For we ask nothing that we are not willing to accord. It has been with this thought that I have sought to learn from those who spoke for Germany whether it was justice or dominion and the execution of their own will upon the other nations of the world

that the German leaders were seeking. They have answered, answered in unmistakable terms. They have avowed that it was not justice but dominion and the unhindered execution of their own will.

"They are enjoying in Russia a cheap triumph in which no brave or gallant nation can long take pride. A great people helpless by their own act lies for the time at their mercy. Their fair professions are forgotten. They nowhere set up justice, but everywhere impose their power and exploit everything for their own use and aggrandisement; and the peoples of conquered provinces are invited to be free under their dominion.

"Are we not justified in believing that they would do the same things at their Western front if they were not there face to face with armies whom even their countless divisions cannot overcome? If when they have felt their check to be final they should propose favourable and equitable terms with regard to Belgium and France and Italy, could they blame us if we concluded that they did so only to assure themselves of a free hand in Russia and the East? Their purpose is undoubtedly to make all the Slavic peoples, all the free and ambitious nations of the Balkan Peninsula, all the lands that Turkey has dominated and misruled, subject to their will and ambition, and build upon that dominion an Empire of force upon which they fancy that they can then erect an empire of gain and commercial supremacy; an empire as hostile to the Americas as to the Europe which it will overawe; an empire which will ultimately master Persia, India, and the peoples of the Far East. In such a programme our ideals, the ideals of justice and humanity and liberty, the principle of the free self-determination of nations upon which all the modern world insists, can play no part.

The Challenge Accepted.

"I accept the challenge. I know that you accept it. All the world shall know that you accept it. It shall appear in the utter sacrifice and self-forgetfulness with which we shall give all that we have to redeem the world and make it fit for free men like ourselves to live in. This now is the meaning of all that we do. Let everything that we say, my fellow-countrymen, everything that we henceforth plan and accomplish, ring true to this response, till the majesty and might of our concerted power shall fill the thought and utterly defeat the force of those who flout and misprise what we honour and hold dear. Germany has once more said that force and force alone shall decide whether justice and peace shall reign in the affairs of men, whether right as America conceives it, or dominion as she conceives it, shall determine the destinies of mankind. There is, therefore, but one response possible from us—force, force to the utmost, force without stint or limit, the righteous and triumphant force which shall make right the law of the world, and cast every selfish dominion down in the dust."

Programme of World Peace.

President Wilson, in his address to Congress, following Mr. Lloyd George's definition of British War Aims of January 5, said on January 8, 1918:

The programme of the world's peace is our programme, and that programme, the only possible programme as we see it, is this:

1. Open covenants of peace, openly arrived at, after which there shall be no private international

understandings of any kind, but diplomacy shall proceed always frankly and in the public view.

2. Absolute freedom of navigation upon the seas, outside territorial waters, alike in peace and in war, except as the seas may be closed in whole or in part by international action for the enforcement of international covenants.

3. The removal, as far as possible, of all economic barriers, and the establishment of an equality of trade conditions among all the nations consenting to the peace and associating themselves for its maintenance.

4. Adequate guarantees given and taken that national armaments will be reduced to the lowest point consistent with domestic safety.

5. A free, open-minded, and absolutely impartial adjustment of all colonial claims, based upon a strict observance of the principle that in determining all such questions of sovereignty the interests of the populations concerned must have equal weight with the equitable claims of the government whose title is to be determined.

6. The evacuation of all Russian territory, and such a settlement of all questions affecting Russia as will secure the best and freest co-operation of the other nations of the world in obtaining for her an unhampered and unembarrassed opportunity for the independent determination of her own political development and national policy, and assure her of a sincere welcome into the society of free nations under institutions of her own choosing; and, more than a welcome, assistance also of every kind that she may need and may herself desire.

7. Belgium, the whole world will agree, must be evacuated and restored, without any attempt to limit the sovereignty which she enjoys in common with all other free nations.

8. All French territory should be freed, and the invaded portions restored, and the wrong done to France by Prussia in 1871 in the matter of Alsace-Lorraine, which has unsettled the peace of the world for nearly fifty years, should be righted, in order that peace may once more be made secure in the interest of all.

9. A readjustment of the frontiers of Italy should be effected along clearly recognisable lines of nationality.

10. The peoples of Austria-Hungary, whose place among the nations we wish to see safeguarded and assured, should be accorded the freest opportunity of autonomous development.

11. Rumania, Serbia, and Montenegro should be evacuated, occupied territories restored, Serbia accorded free and secure access to the sea, and the relations of the several Balkan States to one another determined by friendly counsel along historically established lines of allegiance and nationality, and international guarantees of the political and economic independence and territorial integrity of the several Balkan States should be entered into.

12. The Turkish portions of the present Ottoman Empire should be assured a secure sovereignty, but the other nationalities which are now under Turkish rule should be assured an undoubted security of life and an absolutely unmolested opportunity of autonomous development; and the Dardanelles should be permanently opened as a free passage to the ships and commerce of all nations under international guarantees.

13. An independent Polish State should be erected, which should include the territories inhabited by indisputably Polish populations, which should be secured a free and secure access to the sea, and whose political and economic independ-

ence and territorial integrity should be guaranteed by international covenant.

14. A general association of nations must be formed under specific covenants for the purpose of affording mutual guarantees of political independence and territorial integrity to great and small States alike.

An evident principle runs through the whole programme I have outlined. It is the principle of justice to all peoples and nationalities, and their right to live on equal terms of liberty and safety with one another, whether they be strong or weak. Unless this principle be made its foundation, no part of the structure of international justice can stand. The peoples of the United States could act upon no other principle, and to the vindication of this principle they are ready to devote their lives, their honour, and everything that they possess.

The moral climax of this, the culminating and final war for human liberty, has come, and they are ready to put their own strength, their own highest purpose, their own integrity and devotion, to the test.

The Four Great Objects.

President Wilson, again on July 4, 1918, defined the issue and the aim of the war with a force and a conviction that clear the air of all doubt and give precision to the aim of diplomatic endeavour as well as to the armies and navies and the peoples behind them.

"There can be but one issue," declared President Wilson at Washington's Tomb, Mount Vernon, on Independence Day, 1918:

"The settlement must be final. There can be no compromise. No half-way decision would be tolerable. No half-way decision is conceivable.

"These are the ends for which the associated peoples of the world are fighting, and which must be conceded them before there can be peace:—

"*First*, the destruction of every arbitrary power anywhere that can separately, secretly and of its single choice disturb the peace of the world, or, if it cannot be presently destroyed, at the least its reduction to virtual impotence.

"*Second*, the settlement of every question, whether of territory or sovereignty, of economic arrangement or of political relationship, upon the basis of the free acceptance of that settlement by the people immediately concerned, and not upon the basis of the material interest or advantage of any other nation or people which may desire a different settlement for the sake of its own exterior influence or mastery.

"*Third*, the consent of all nations to be governed in their conduct towards each other by the same principles of honour and of respect for the common law of civilised society that govern the individual citizens of all modern States and in their relations with one another, to the end that all promises and covenants may be sacredly observed, no private plots or conspiracies hatched, no selfish injuries wrought with impunity, and a mutual trust established upon the handsome foundation of a mutual respect for right.

"*Fourth*, the establishment of an organisation of peace which shall make it certain that the combined power of free nations will check every invasion of right, and serve to make peace and justice the more secure by affording a definite tribunal of opinion to which all must submit, and by which every international adjustment that cannot be amicably agreed upon by the peoples directly concerned shall be sanctioned.

"These great objects can be put into a single sentence :

"What we seek is the reign of law based upon the consent of the governed and sustained by the organised opinion of mankind.

"Germany cannot, with the remotest trace of conviction, discover in any of the formulæ of responsible Allied Statesmen any threat of annihilation."

4

GERMAN WAR AIMS.

(a) General. "To Dominate the World."

Germany has made no explicit declaration of her war aims. Repeatedly asked by British Statesmen as to her war aims in relation to Belgium or Alsace-Lorraine, the then German Chancellor (Bethmann Hollweg), speaking in the Reichstag on September 28, 1917, said :

"I must at the present moment decline to specify our war aims and bind the hands of our negotiators."

Herr von Kühlmann, Foreign Secretary, in the Reichstag, on October 9, 1917, said :

"There is but one answer to the question : 'Can Germany in any form make any concessions with regard to Alsace-Lorraine?' The answer is : NO, NEVER!"

At one stage indeed in the war, during the negotiations with Russia, Germany repeated glibly the formula : "No annexations and no indemnities," in

order to lead revolutionary Russia in its broken condition to conclude peace with her. But no sooner had an agreement been arrived at and the Russians placed themselves in a defenceless position than Germany proceeded to carve out for herself and to bring under military control great areas of Eastern Europe. (See Wm. Stephen Sanders' *The Tragedy of Russia*.)

A Krupp's Director on German Aims.

The defence of British policy by the German Ambassador, Count Lichnowsky, is completed and ratified by the condemnation of the German policy that precipitated the war made by Dr. Mühlön.

Herr Mühlön had everything to lose by exposing his own country, for he was a highly-placed director of Krupp's, the great German armament firm at Essen.

In July, 1914, in the ordinary course of his business, he had a very important conversation with Herr Helfferich, who was at that time one of the directors of the Deutsche Bank, and afterwards became Imperial Minister of Finance.

The revelation as to the perfidy of the German Government made a profound impression on Herr Mühlön's mind. He resigned his post as director of Krupp's. In 1917 he finally determined to give up all employment which would make him an accomplice of the German Government; he left the country and took up his residence in Switzerland. He wrote a memorandum (published in 1918) and a letter to Herr von Bethmann Hollweg on May 7, 1917. No contradiction of his statements has been forthcoming from the German side.

Herr Mühlön's Memorandum.

The following are extracts from the Memorandum :—

"In the middle of July, 1914, I had a conversation with Dr. Helfferich, who was at that time the Director of the Deutsche Bank in Berlin, and is now the official representative of the Imperial Chancellor. Dr. Helfferich said :—

" 'The political situation has become very threatening. The Austrians have been with the Kaiser during the last few days. In eight days' time Vienna will deliver a very sharply-worded Ultimatum to Serbia. The Ultimatum will have a quite short time-limit; in fact, immediate satisfaction will be demanded on a number of definite issues, failing which Austria-Hungary will declare war on Serbia.'

The Kaiser's Emphatic Approval.

"The Kaiser has expressed his decided approval of this Austro-Hungarian move. The Kaiser said that he regarded the conflict with Serbia as a domestic affair concerning Austria-Hungary and Serbia alone, and that he would not allow any other State to interfere; that if Russia mobilised, he would mobilise too; that mobilisation in his case meant immediate war; and that this time there should be no wavering. The Austrians are delighted at the Kaiser's determined attitude.

"Vienna's Ultimatum to Serbia made its appearance on the very day which Helfferich had predicted to me. I was again in Berlin at the time, and said frankly to Helfferich that I found the Ultimatum, in form and in content, simply monstrous.

"Helfferich told me (continues Dr. Mühlön) that

the Kaiser's Scandinavian cruise was only a blind ; that he had not arranged it on the customary scale, but was keeping in constant communication (with Germany), and was near enough to be reached at any moment. One must hope that the Austrians would act quickly, before the other Powers had time to interfere.

"Very soon after the Viennese Ultimatum to Serbia the German Government issued an announcement to the effect that Austria-Hungary had acted on its own account without Germany's foreknowledge. If one endeavoured to reconcile this announcement with the events which I have described above, the only possible solution was that *the Kaiser had already committed himself, without allowing his Government any hand in the matter.* Herr von Jagow said to Herr von Bohlen that by the time he was informed of the matter and had been called in, the Kaiser was so deeply committed that it was already too late to take any steps consistently with diplomatic usage, and that there was nothing more to be done. The situation had been such that it was impossible to propose any reservations and conditions."

Dr. Muhlton to Von Bethmann Hollweg.

The following are extracts from Dr. Muhlton's letter to Herr von Bethmann Hollweg :

"Since the first days of 1917 I have abandoned all hope as regards the present leaders of Germany.

"Our offer of peace with no indication of our war aims, the unrestricted submarine war, the deportations from Belgium, the systematic destruction in France, the torpedoing of English hospital ships have so discredited the governors of the German Empire that I am convinced that they are for ever disqualified from elaborating and concluding a just

and sincere entente. They may modify themselves personally, but they cannot remain the representatives of the German cause.

"The German people will only be able to repair the grievous sins committed against its own present and future, against that of all Europe and humanity, when it is represented by other men of another mentality. To tell the truth, it is only just that its reputation throughout the entire world should be as bad as it is. *The success of its methods—the methods by which it has conducted the war up till now, both militarily and politically—would mean the defeat of the highest ideals and hopes of humanity.*"

Judge Germany by her Acts.

Germany's steady refusal to state her war aims in explicit and detailed official terms has made it necessary to judge her aims by her acts, and by some authoritative though unofficial declarations.

President Wilson, on the basis of Germany's acts, defined Germany's war aims and methods in a single sentence in his reply to the Pope's Peace Note (August 27, 1917). He said:

"The object of this war is to deliver the free peoples of the world from the menace and the actual power of a vast military establishment, controlled by an irresponsible Government, which, having **secretly planned to dominate the world**, proceeded to carry the plan out without regard either to the sacred obligations of treaty or the long-established practices and long-cherished principles of international action and honour; which chose its own time for the war; delivered its blow fiercely and suddenly; stopped at no barrier, either of law or of mercy; swept a

whole continent within the tide of blood—not the blood of soldiers only, but the blood of innocent women and children also, and of the helpless poor; and now stands baulked, but not defeated, the enemy of four-fifths of the world.”

He went on to say:—

“This power is not the German people. It is the ruthless master of the German people. It is no business of ours how that great people came under its control or submitted with temporary zest to the domination of its purpose; but it is our business to see to it that the history of the rest of the world is no longer left to its handling.”

What World-Domination Means.

That phrase “to dominate the world” crystallises the whole war aim of Germany. Germany includes, as essential to that aim, the reduction of France to impotence, the dismemberment of Russia, the crippling of the British Empire, the thwarting of Italy’s national development, the reduction of Belgium to a condition of economic dependence on Germany; the shackling of the smaller Slav and Czech nationalities in the Balkans; even the absolute subordination of her own allies—Austria, Bulgaria, and Turkey, and in particular the control of the destinies of Asia Minor and Central Asia, with the subjection of vast areas of Africa. All that is involved in the German ambition “to dominate the world”; and to achieve that end she spent years of effort and preparation, not merely in organising herself for a sweeping military triumph, but in disorganising, by a world-

wide system of subsidised espionage and conspiracy, the internal economy of every State in whom she recognised a potential opponent to her ambitions.

The Obstacles to Peace.

Mr. Balfour again, in the House of Commons, on August 8, 1918, examined Germany's War Aims on the basis of her acts. He said :*

"German militarism is based . . . on the fact that German writers and professors, men of theory, men of action, those engaged in commerce, those engaged in historical speculation are all united in the view that the true policy of any nation which wishes to be great is a *policy of universal domination*. . . . This gross and immoral heresy has spread its roots right through the most educated classes in Germany, and until those roots are eradicated there is very small hope that Germany will become a peaceful member of a peaceful society of nations. . . . The German theory and the German practice in this matter harmonise.

THE QUESTION OF BELGIUM.

"Never could a German statesman bring himself to say plainly, clearly, definitely, and without ambiguity, 'We took Belgium without excuse; we mean to give it back without conditions, and so far as in us lies restore it as it was before it fell into the hands of the spoiler.' Never once have they thus spoken. They have hedged round their declaration of policy with qualifications. They have invented history. They have spread calumnies about Belgian policy. They

* "The Obstacles to Peace" (N.W.A.C.).

have made mendacious statements about British intrigues with Belgium. But never yet have they clearly stated the only policy which even the extremest pacifist among us is prepared to accept before the war is brought to an end.

"There is an even more striking example of German methods of carrying out German theories to be found on the Russian frontier of Germany. . . . You find a whole group of nationalities—Esthonians, Letts, Lithuanians, Poles, Ukrainians. All these have been overrun by German armies. All these Germany has proclaimed herself anxious to release from Russian tyranny. But that is not her real end. Her real end she pursues steadily, remorselessly, without wavering, without pity. Sometimes by mere force, sometimes by treaties extorted by force, she endeavours to bring these peoples under German economic and military domination. In peace they are to supply her with wealth; in war they are to supply her with men. That is her policy. Its forms are many; its essence is one. . . .

"The treaty of Brest-Litovsk and the treaty with Rumania illustrate these methods, and I cannot see that any peace would be tolerable which does not tear these treaties to pieces. If Eastern Europe remains as Germany is endeavouring to constitute it, future wars would be an absolute certainty, and Germany's power of waging them would be, as she herself admits, enormously increased. . . .

THE BRITISH WAY: A CONTRAST.

"Now turn to a very different picture. In the last four years Germany has, as we know, overrun fair districts both on her Eastern and on her Western frontiers. We also have had our measure of territorial conquest. We have occu-

pied the southern part of Palestine, large portions of Mesopotamia, and the German Colonies. Would you know the difference between German and British methods? Compare the fate of the districts occupied by the British with the fate of those that have been overrun by the Germans. Wherever the British Armies have conquered, security has been assured, trade has grown, freedom has flourished, wealth has increased almost before our eyes. Mesopotamia at this moment is producing corn as she has never produced it since the Turkish conquests. Palestine—that part of it at least under British rule—is more prosperous than it has ever been. While, if you turn to the German Colonies, I do not think that anyone who has studied German methods of colonisation can doubt the enormous gain which the war has brought to the oppressed inhabitants of those districts.

“PRODUCED A DESERT AND LEFT A DESERT.”

“Contrast now with the fate of Palestine and Mesopotamia the fate of Poland and Belgium. Germany has not been content to inflict the sufferings which are perhaps inevitable from the passage of hostile forces. These sufferings indeed need not be great if an army be disciplined and its leaders humane. But wherever German soldiers have been they have made a desert and left a desert. Not content with slaughter, outrage, and enslavement, they have stripped and plundered all the great manufacturing towns of Belgium and Poland—partly, it may be, to meet their own immediate needs, partly to strike terror into their opponents, partly in order that Lodz and Liège may no longer compete with German manufacturers. . . .

"The Government are most anxious to arrive at an honourable, safe, and durable peace. But, believe me, this end cannot be attained by negotiation unless the views of the negotiators are within measurable distance of each other. . . .

"Judged by their own utterances, the abyss that divides the Associated Powers on the one side from the Central Powers on the other is almost immeasurable—so deep as hardly to be plumbed, so wide as hardly to be bridged. . . . Do the pacifists wish to hand back to Germany, as Germany is now, the African Colonies? It means, in the first place, giving Germany submarine bases on all the great trade routes of the world, and putting therefore the world's commerce at Germany's disposal. It means, in the second place, the tyrannical government of the native Africans. It means that Germany will deliberately create a great Black Army in Central Africa for the purpose, not merely of defence, but of aggression. . . . No more potent instrument for disturbing the peace of the world or increasing the miseries of humanity could be conceived, and, whatever else peace does, I trust that it will not restore to Germany a great Central African dominion, to be used, as Germany well knows how to use it, for the destruction of her rivals within the continent of Africa and the domination by piratical warfare of all the great arteries of trade by which civilised nations are united.

THE FUTURE OF RUSSIA.

"Again, are the pacifists ready to acquiesce in Germany's Russian policy? . . . Does any section of this House contemplate with equanimity this row of subordinate States, stretching from the Baltic to the Black Sea, feeding German trade

though starved themselves, and supplying Germany with armies in quarrels with which they have no concern? . . . Russia will be cut off from all direct intercourse with her great Western neighbours, thus making almost impossible the task of reconstitution, which must in any case tax Russian statesmanship to its utmost. . . .

"The pacifists desire peace, as we all desire peace; but they desire it on terms which would not merely make a future war inevitable, but would also leave an immense fraction of civilised mankind under the German heel—utterly incapable, therefore, of carrying out its own development in its own fashion. This would imperil the whole future progress of civilisation, which, as I represent it to myself, must largely consist in the growth of friendly intercourse between nation and nation of such a kind that, while each influences the others, each may nevertheless, in conformity with its own character, its own history, its own national aspirations, give to the working-out of the common task the kind of contribution it is best fitted to supply."

(b) Mittel-Europa and Mittel-Afrika.

As a part of the scheme of world domination, which forms Germany's central war aim, we find not only the complete subjection of her allies Austria and Bulgaria, but the virtual absorption of Rumania and Serbia, Finland, Lithuania, the Ukraine, and indeed the whole of the western borders of what was the Russian Empire, and the conversion of the Black Sea and the Baltic Sea into German Lakes. This is her expanded scheme of Mittel-Europa, which is so far achieved on the map that any conclusion of the war that left Germany

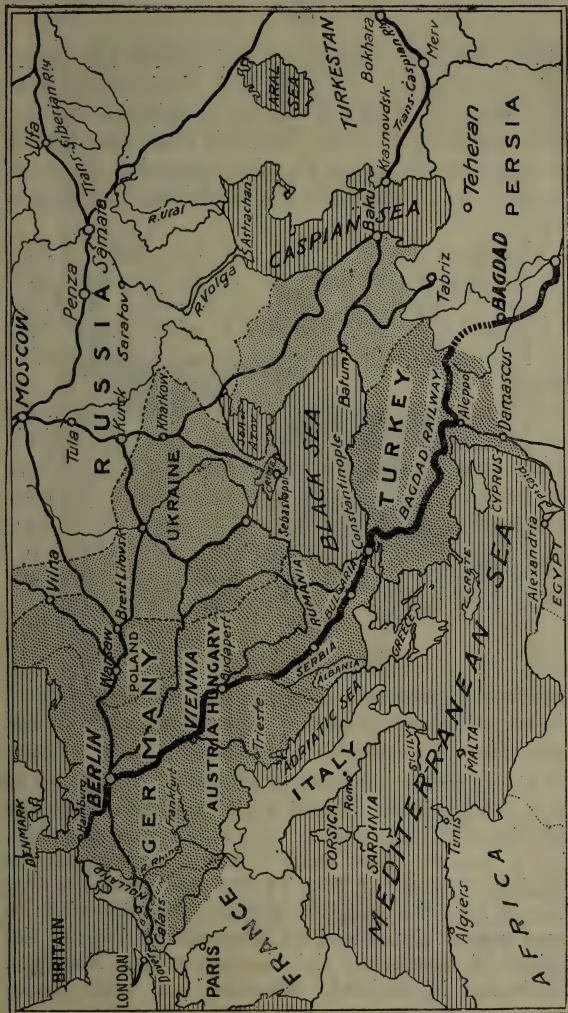
in her present state would leave her lord of the vassal States included in the catalogue above.

Mittel-Europa.

The scheme popularised throughout Germany as "Mittel-Europa," stands for an immense dominance running from Hamburg, through Berlin, Vienna, Belgrade, and Sofia, to Constantinople, Aleppo and Bokhara and Basra. German imperialism could use even this as a mere spring-board for leaping still further to the domination of Africa, and from Africa (by the mastery of the Atlantic and the Indian Ocean) to South America on the one hand and the Farther East on the other; involving the dismemberment of the British Empire by cutting its jugular vein at the Suez Canal and by dominating all its trade routes.

By an immense canalised system through Bavaria from the Main to the Danube, and between the Elbe, the Oder and the Danube, Germany intends to make a transit system for submarines, destroyers, etc., by which she can move her flotillas from the North Sea to the Black Sea—which would be a German lake—and on to the Mediterranean and the Suez Canal at will; while she would also exercise sea-power from the Adriatic.

To this vast scheme the best brains of Germany, her military plans, her trade enterprises, her diplomatic policy, her naval development, have all been directed. It is not a wild scheme on paper; it is a feasible plan to enslave the world. And it is not only feasible, it is—given a German victorious conclusion to the war—already in outline realised.



Outline of Germany's Mittel-Europa Scheme.

Belgium, Bulgaria, Rumania and Serbia are under the German heel. Austria and Turkey are like hounds held on a leash which is gripped by the German hand in Berlin. The Western marches of what was the Russian Empire—Russian Poland, Lithuania, the Ukraine—are subordinate to German policy.

If Germany holds these she has won. Any peace on that basis *will not be peace, but will merely be* A TRUCE OF TERROR *in which the helpless nations will see Germany plan from that secure basis a new war for absolute world-domination.*

And Germany will hold these subject nations unless we smash the power of her militaristic machine now in this war once and for all. If we do so break the hypnotic power of that machine we shall have won and all her scheme of Mittel-Europa and Mittel-Afrika, instead of making the world a German prison, will vanish into thin air and the free nations will breathe again.

Mittel-Afrika.

Germany's grandiose scheme of "Mittel-Afrika" has been summed up by Dr. Hans Delbrück in the authoritative *Preussische Jahrbücher*. He writes:

"If our victory is great enough, we may hope to unite the whole of Central Africa together with our old South-West under our hand—Senegambia, Sierra Leone, the Gold Coast, Dahomey, the populous islands of San Thomé and Príncipe, the French and the Belgian Congo, Angola with its great potentialities and its excellent harbours; the region of Katenga, rich in minerals; Northern Rhodesia, Nyasaland, Mozambique with Dela-

goa ; Madagascar, German East Africa, Zanzibar, Uganda." (See map attached.)*

Germany dreams of creating a vast empire in Africa, maintained by an army of negroes, drilled



Germany's "Mittel-Afrika."

by German officers, with munition factories to provide them with guns and shells, and with naval stations and submarine bases, from which to menace the trade of the world.

* For lecturing purposes a striking map may be made on a large sheet of brown paper. Outline Africa in red ; cover all the rest with white chalk save the part made black in the above map (which should be made black on the brown paper map).

(c) Germany's Aims as Revealed by her Acts.

Germany revealed from the outset the fact that no scruple would stand in her way as an obstacle to achieving her aim of dominating the earth. Germany in the last few days before the war invited England to stand aside while France was smitten to the ground and robbed of her colonies, and while Belgian neutrality was broken. The infamous suggestions were rejected.

In 1911, 1913 and on July 31, 1914, Germany, through responsible Ministers, had declared that she would observe the Treaty of 1839 to respect Belgian neutrality. Yet on August 2 the Minister (who three days earlier, on July 31, had declared, in reply to an enquiry from the Belgian Government that he was certain that Germany adhered to her pledges), presented a Note to the Belgian Government demanding a passage through Belgium for the German Army on pain of instant declaration of war. On the evening of August 3 the German troops crossed the frontier.

The Imperial Chancellor, Bethmann Hollweg, in the Reichstag engraved on eternal brass the infamy of Germany:—

“We are now in a state of necessity, and necessity knows no law. . . . We were compelled to override the just protest of the Luxemburg and Belgian Governments. The wrong—I speak openly—that we are committing we will endeavour to make good as soon as our military goal has been reached. Anybody who is threatened, as we are threatened, and is fighting for his highest possessions, can have only one thought—how he is to hack his way through.”

“Frighfulness” in Europe.

In the verified record of the deeds done then in Belgium we see savagery elevated to a science in pursuance of the war aim of domination. The cold catalogue is enough: a baby crucified with hands and feet outstretched, nailed like a rat to a barn; another baby carried aloft, skewered on a bayonet in a regiment of singing soldiers; girls violated again and again until they died; matrons, old men and priests slaughtered; men mutilated in ways that one man can hardly whisper to another; women and children thrust forward as a screen between “the gallant troops of Germany” and their enemy; organised massacre; the abuse of the Red Cross and the White Flag.* Everything that we thought secure among civilised men was defiled and destroyed—fidelity to the pledged word, reverence for age, the sanctity of womanhood, childhood and weakness; standards of honour, of justice and of clean fighting. And they were destroyed, not in an access of passion, but on a deliberate and calculated policy of “frighfulness.” The soldiers who had, when they went to China, been ordered by their Kaiser to emulate the Huns under Attila, now outdistanced their model. The orders of the General Staff and the execution of those commands stand without parallel.

That policy of “frighfulness” issued in multitudes of acts of treachery and cruelty.

In military operations themselves, the use by the German forces of old men, women and children as a screen between themselves and the Allied Armies, and the treacherous use of the White Flag, formed

* Report of the Committee (presided over by Lord Bryce) on Alleged German Outrages.

a fitting preparation for the introduction of the torture of poison gas and of the flame-throwers. That the use of poison gas should have actually been forced upon us by Germany is one of the things it is most difficult to forgive. And it was forced upon us, for to refrain from using it when the German Army was doing so was to give our own men up to death.

The wanton slaughter of women and children and other non-combatants on our coasts by the raiding warships of Germany; the murder of Nurse Cavell for acts which might conceivably have justified a light sentence on a man, but would not have been held as doing so in the case of a woman under any civilised Government; the indiscriminate destruction of civilian life by the futile Zeppelin and aeroplane raids; the deliberate torpedoing of hospital ships; the German submarine crews jeering at the struggles of their drowning victims as in the case of the torpedoed *Falaba*; these and similar acts received their immortal crown of infamy when the *Lusitania* was sunk with over a thousand civilians, Americans and British.

Three barbarities stand out as so eminent in criminal bestiality as poisoning so completely the very springs of international life, that their total effect has been to change the very history of the war. These three atrocities are (*a*) the massacre by Turkey, as Germany's ally and with Germany's assent, of over a half of the Armenian people, together with the cruel starvation of the Syrian population, particularly in the Lebanon; (*b*) the deportation into conditions of slavery of thousands of Belgian men, women and girls; and (*c*) the unrestricted indiscriminate destruction of the

shipping of all nations, and the murder of seamen.

(a) **Massacres in Asia Minor.**

The atrocities committed during the war by Turkey in Asia Minor, Armenia and North-west Persia are, considered in the dry light of historic fact, an effort to exterminate a whole nation without distinction of age or sex. The evidence has been closely scrutinised by some of the most critical and judicial, and historical minds in Europe and America. The facts are established beyond any cavil. They are as incontrovertible as they are diabolical. They would be incredible if they were not true.*

(b) **The Deportations.**

Of the second immense atrocity, the deportation of Belgian men, women and girls, there is little need to give details. The simple fact of carrying off into slavery the non-combatants of a people whose one sin is that they have defended their existence as a nation and their honour as a unit of the community of nations, is a crime whose despicable inhumanity stands out in simple relief—a stark menace to all those small neutral peoples whose proximity to such a neighbour is now a daily peril. We have only to imagine the same thing happening to our fathers, mothers, sisters and daughters to realise that the whole act is a calculated crime on a national scale for which there must—if justice is still to live upon the earth—be a

* The Treatment of Armenians in the Ottoman Empire. Documents presented to Viscount Grey by Viscount Bryce, laid before the Houses of Parliament as an Official Paper. (Hodder and Stoughton, 1916.)

tremendous reparation, though no power can reconstruct the broken homes or give back the shattered lives.

(c) **Murder on the Seas.**

The third atrocity on a wide and continuous scale—the unrestricted sea-murder of neutrals by submarine—has had effects in history which demonstrate that they blend barbarity, tyranny, and arrogance with a final threat to the national identity of any people anywhere. It was the submarine policy, entered on by Germany as a last desperate gambler's throw in defiance of the neutral opinion of the world, that brought America into the war.

"We are accepting this challenge of hostile purpose," President Wilson declared, "because we know that in such a Government following such methods we can never have a friend; and that in the presence of its organised power, always lying in wait to accomplish we know not what purpose, there can be no assured security for the democratic Governments of the world."

In the unrestricted U-boat warfare, which was initiated by the German Government on February 1, 1917, the most infamous feature has been "The War on Hospital Ships,"* In all cases German charges that the British Government was transporting munitions or troops in hospital ships have been completely disproved. The ships so sunk up to date are :

* For the authenticated narratives of survivors, see "The War on Hospital Ships" (Fisher Unwin, 3d. net); "The Pirates' Progress," by William Archer (Chatto and Windus, 6d. net); and "Devils of the Deep" (W. H. Smith).

Name.	Date.	Lives Lost.
"Portugal"	March 17, 1916 ..	85
"Vperiod"	July 8, 1916 ..	7
"Britannic"	Nov. 21, 1916 ..	50
"Braemar Castle" ..	Nov. 22, 1916 ..	1
"Asturias"	March 20, 1917 ..	43
"Gloucester Castle"	March 30, 1917 ..	3
"Donegal"	April 17, 1917 ..	41
"Lanfranc"	April 17, 1917 ..	34
"Dover Castle" ..	May 26, 1917 ..	6
"Rewa"	Jan. 4, 1918 ..	3
"Glenart Castle" ..	Feb. 26, 1918 ..	153
"Llandoverly Castle"	June 27, 1918 ..	234

The U-boat was Germany's most desperate challenge to Britain. She resolved to risk forcing the entry of America into the war, secure in the conviction that before America could organize herself effectively for war, Britain would have been starved into submission.

(For the facts of the failure of the submarine war and of America's entry, see page 67.)

Thus by "frightfulness" in Europe, massacre in Asia, and murder on the high seas, Germany by herself and through her allies has shaken the foundations of civilised life to achieve her central war aim "to dominate the world."

5

WAR AIMS AND THE WORLD VERDICT.

We have now examined the war aims of Britain and her Allies, with America, and of Germany and her Allies. The nations have given their verdict. As a whole the world has judged between the war

aims of the Central Powers on the one side and of the Allied Democracies on the other.

Counting up the accumulated atrocities of Germany, "it is no wonder," as Prince Lichnowsky said, "that the whole of the civilised world outside Germany places the entire responsibility for the world war upon our shoulders." And as Dr. Mühlton declares, "to tell the truth, it is only just that its (the German people's) reputation throughout the entire world should be as bad as it is."

Counting as separate entities States like the British self-governing Dominions, the following nations have given their verdict by declaring war against Germany :

Aug. 1, 1914.—Russia.	Mar. 9, 1916.—Portugal.
„ 3, 1914.—France.	Aug. 28, 1916.—Roumania.
„ 3, 1914.—Belgium.	June 12, 1917.—Greece.
„ 6, 1914.—Serbia.	Apr. 6, 1917.—United States
„ 4, 1914.—Great Britain.	„ 7, 1917.—Cuba.
„ 4, 1914.—India.	„ 10, 1917.—Panama.
„ 4, 1914.—Canada.	July 22, 1917.—Siam.
„ 4, 1914.—South Africa.	Aug. 4, 1917.—Liberia.
„ 4, 1914.—Australia.	„ 14, 1917.—China.
„ 4, 1914.—New Zealand.	Oct. 25, 1917.—Brazil.
„ 9, 1914.—Montenegro.	Apr. 22, 1918.—Guatemala.
„ 23, 1914.—Japan.	May 7, 1918.—Nicaragua.
May 23, 1915.—Italy.	„ 25, 1918.—Costa Rica.

Germany has made herself an outcast among the peoples.

Of the nations who have declared war upon her, Russia, betrayed from within, and Rumania, deserted by Russia, have been compelled to make a humiliating peace.

But the vast potentialities of the United States, the assistance of the Republics of Central and

South America, and the support of the great people of China, have brought into play forces of infinitely greater strength than those which have been withdrawn, and the League of Free Nations, with which the military autocracy of Germany is now confronted, holds in its hands such resources of man-power, material reserves and moral force as render certain the final triumph of its cause.

II.

THE BRITISH EFFORT.

I

GENERAL.

With a view to achieving those aims for which, though utterly unprepared from a military point of view, she entered the war, Britain has revolutionised her whole industrial, social, commercial, domestic and governmental life.

The realised total strength of the British fighting forces would have been regarded universally as utterly incredible at the outset of the war. Taking into account the fact that she is at the same time the munitions arsenal, the naval strength, the commercial clearing-house, the industrial backbone of the Allies, her offering of men is already stupendous.

Great Britain has neither the right nor the power to demand military service from her Dominions; it is only of their own free will that these take part in any war in which she may be engaged. Yet, since the outbreak of the Great War four years ago, considerably more than one million volunteer soldiers have come from the great Dominions overseas to take their share in the Empire's battles. Canada, Newfoundland, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa have vied with each other in offering men, money and material resources to the common cause. They have proved to the world that freedom is a more potent bond than force, that liberty is the surest guarantee of loyalty.

THE BRITISH EMPIRE IN THE WAR.

The call of the great adventure for the defence of the Empire, for the freedom of small nations, for those principles of loyalty to the given word, of even-handed justice and of personal liberty which are the secret of the British Raj, had no sooner sounded than every province of the Empire sprang to arms. English and Boers, Scots and Canadians, Irish and Indians, men of Australia, New Zealand, Newfoundland and Africa, even the little island peoples of Fiji and Niué and the Cook Islands, offered their lives.*

* The world is well acquainted with the story of the achievements of France, Italy, and the United States during the war. It has been kept informed of the exploits of the Russians in the days before the tragic collapse of that country's resistance to the Central Empires. But we must also recognise the value of the efforts put forth by some of the remote or small nations of the Entente. Although *Japan*, for example, has not participated to any great extent in the land campaigns of the war, the Japanese Navy has rendered substantial assistance in the Mediterranean and in other waters more distant. It has, moreover, undertaken the responsibility of preventing Germany from stretching its mailed fist across Siberia to the Far East. *China*, again, has despatched no expeditionary force to Europe, but she has seized the enemy vessels in her ports and handed them over to the Entente Powers. She has sent foodstuffs to the United States, setting free in that way a proportionate amount of American foodstuffs for shipment to us *via* the Atlantic—a more suitable route than that used for direct Chinese exports to Great Britain. Thousands of Chinese labourers have been working at the back of the British and French trenches, and Chinese skilled workmen have been employed in munition factories in France. It must never be forgotten that, when the Austrians invaded Serbia in 1914, they were twice repulsed brilliantly by the indomitable bravery of the *Serbians*. In November, 1914, that little nation was cut off from its Allies, and was almost destitute of supplies and ammunition. Nevertheless, it rallied from its desperate situation, and, at the glorious battle of Rudnik, General Misitch won a remark-

What, then, are the specific contributions of the Empire in the war?

(a) **India.**

India has made herself the base of effort in the Eastern half of the war. She is the pivot of our Eastern effort; not a corner, drawing off energy from a sole source in the West, but in herself an abundant source of energy that has served to relieve the West.

This has been mainly exemplified in the Mesopotamian expedition, which has resulted in

able victory. The miserable position of the Austrian armies at the present moment, dependent for their future activities entirely upon German aid, is due in large measure to the stubborn gallantry of the Serbians, who dealt repeated and rigorous blows in defending their land as long as it was possible. The entry of *Rumania* into the war was one of the greatest exhibitions of chivalry known to modern times. For the sake of her fellow countrymen, who were enslaved under the alien Hungarian yoke beyond her borders, she ranged herself alongside the Entente Powers in the fight for the liberty of all nations. Thousands of Rumanians have given their lives for the noble cause of the freedom and integrity of the Rumanian race. That their army has had to surrender must be attributed to their isolation from the military forces of their Western Allies and to the successive abandonment of them by the Tsarist autocracy, the Leninite Soviets, and the Ukrainian Rada. It is still the duty of Great Britain to help Rumania to throw off the German strangle-hold and to do all in its power to prevent Germany from striding across that unfortunate land in its domineering march towards Asia. Finally, it is important that the British public should appreciate at their full worth the services rendered by Greece, and the moral and material benefits to be derived from its co-operation in the war. In 1917 Greek troops to the number of fifty thousand were already fighting on the Macedonian front. Much earlier would Greece have helped, but for the machinations of its pro-German king. That king was removed, his policy has been reversed, and, thanks to the statesmanship and energy of M. Venizelos, a national army has been built up, which has given striking proof of its ability to uphold the great traditions of its land.

the capture of Baghdad, with its consequent blow at Ottoman prestige in the East.

Within a few days of the declaration of war with Turkey, the Indian Expedition, which landed at the head of the Persian Gulf, began that campaign which resulted in the occupation of Mesopotamia.

That meant the defeat of Turkish ambition in Arabia.

The whole far-reaching Germanic plan of the "drive Eastwards" would have received sanction and a secure beginning.

Egypt—of such obvious strategic importance—would have been disturbed to its depths, from the Nile to the Sahara, by participation of Arabia in the war.

The Indian forces have fought on every front in the war—the Western front, Salonika, Gallipoli, the Egyptian front (Palestine), in Africa, and in Mesopotamia.

The Middle East finally would have been lost to British influence.

These possibilities were foreseen when the Kaiser declared himself openly the friend of all Mohammedans. The Pan-German expectations were disappointed when the vast dependency spontaneously offered itself in the cause.

India stood beside England. India kept steady. The East was steadied in proportion. Perhaps we may most briefly summarise thus the result and meaning of India's achievement in the war.

In such a country—multitudinous, composed of many loosely-welded parts—there could never have been any possibility of compulsion for military service. There was no question of it, and there was no need.

The voluntary response was so great, so immediate, that it needed no external stimulus to reinforce it. It came readily from within. The difficulty was to find immediately organised employment for all that she was anxious to offer.

To the German, it was then, and has since remained, incomprehensible that the moral bond should be stronger than the fetter he forges for those who have to submit to his domination.

What was the actual Indian contribution of men, of material, and of money?

MEN.

On the outbreak of war, the total strength of the Indian Native Army, including Reserves (Indian ranks only), was 216,715.

Between August, 1914, and July, 1918, inclusive, the total number of men, British and Indian, sent overseas from India was 1,115,189.

The monthly recruiting figures show a steady increase. June and July, 1918, constitute a record.

In the fifth year of war, India is not only maintaining her field armies in all theatres, but is actually placing new units at the disposal of the General Staff. The Indian Volunteer Force, meanwhile, has become the Indian Defence Force, part of which is used for garrison duty in India. This force, numbering 50,000 men, is much more thoroughly trained than were the former volunteers.

MATERIAL.

Organisation of the resources of India and co-ordination of the various purchasing departments of the Government have been entrusted to a Munitions Board, which has succeeded in the task

of regulating contracts and amalgamating demands, and so prevented competitive buying between the various Government agencies. The general effect of its endeavours has been to make India far more self-sufficient than ever before in regard to supplies of manufactured goods; so that here the Board has effected a permanent reform, and pointed the way to important future developments that will outlast the war.

As regards material, the Indian Government have also had to deal with (1) river craft for use in Mesopotamia; (2) railway construction there; (3) the immensely increased demands upon the Telegraph Department; and (4) the Farms Department, which provides the export, personnel, cattle and plant for the military dairies in Mesopotamia, as also for the cultivation of vegetables there. In each of those spheres, an immense work has been performed. For river craft, a large, well-equipped fleet has been supplied for the Tigris—no fewer than 57 per cent. of the vessels now in commission being supplied by India; for railways, the whole of the rails, sleepers, engines and rolling stock has been provided by India, as well as the technical personnel and railway material for Egypt, East Africa and other overseas railways; while the Telegraph Department, called upon to meet the demand of the Army in Mesopotamia and East Africa, has provided and fully equipped some 900 miles of line.

Meanwhile India has supplied the United Kingdom and the Allies with sand-bags, raw jute, tanned and raw hides, wool, tea, beans, rice, grain for our army horses, and other important raw materials.

MONEY.

In January, 1917, India offered the Imperial Government a contribution of £100,000,000 towards the cost of the war, and £37,000,000 was actually raised by loan, £6,000,000 being received through Post Office contributions. Besides her direct military expenditure in India and Mesopotamia, India is also financing large amounts of wheat, jute, manufactures, hides, and other commodities for the Allied Governments, and she is providing funds for East Africa and Persia, and is further assisting Ceylon, Mauritius, and Egypt.

THE DOMINIONS.

Canada.

In less than two months from the outbreak of war Canada concentrated, armed, and sent to Europe an expeditionary force of 33,000 men. Out of a population of 8,000,000 she raised mainly by voluntary enlistment more than 565,000 men, of whom by the end of the fourth year of war, nearly 400,000 had crossed the Atlantic. Canada has now adopted compulsory military service. She has raised more than £14,000,000 for charitable purposes, and has made generous gifts of foodstuffs and cereals to the common cause. The Canadian Government has also spent large sums in the purchase and manufacture of munitions, and has given valuable assistance to the Allies in the matter of boots, clothing, blankets, copper, and rifles.

Australia.

Immediately upon the declaration of war the

Australian Commonwealth undertook to raise an expeditionary force of 20,000 men for service in Europe, and at the same time the entire Australian Navy was placed at the disposal of the British Admiralty. Australia can record the recruitment of 426,000 soldiers. It was in the Gallipoli campaign that these regiments first earned for themselves an imperishable name, and in the great battles on the Western Front they have played an heroic part. All the expenses in connection with the equipment and transport of her army have been borne by the Government of Australia, and the total amount contributed by Australia to the various war relief funds amounts to over £7,000,000.

Newfoundland.

Newfoundland, the smallest of the British Dominions, with a population of only 250,000, has sent overseas over 3,000 soldiers and 2,000 sailors. The Newfoundland Regiment took a brilliant share in the operations at Gallipoli, and was the last unit to leave the Peninsula. It has since greatly distinguished itself in the operations on the Western Front, where it has suffered severe casualties. The Naval force has been chiefly employed in patrol work in the Mediterranean and the North Sea. Newfoundland has also raised a fund of £20,000 with which to assist families of the soldiers and sailors on active service, and many thousand pounds worth of comforts have been sent to the men in the trenches and the wounded. A valuable gift of aeroplanes is the latest example of this little colony's devotion to the cause of freedom.

South Africa.

South Africa, where less than seventeen years ago Britain and Boer were locked in deadly conflict, has raised an army of over 60,000 men for the service of the Empire. This figure does not include the large forces employed in German South-West Africa. Germany's Colonies in Africa have been wrested from her one by one, and to-day the German flag does not fly south of the Equator. A rebellion fomented by German intrigues has been suppressed, and an expeditionary force has been dispatched to Europe and has won many laurels in the fighting on the Western Front. This work, it should be remembered, has been carried out by a Dominion the majority of whose white population is not British, but Dutch, and it is a remarkable testimony to the success of the British system of self-government.

New Zealand.

In none of the Dominions was there a more immediate response to the call to arms than in New Zealand. Within a few weeks of the outbreak of the war, 8,000 men had volunteered for service in Europe, and to-day New Zealand can proudly boast of 110,000 effectives sent overseas. The name "Anzac" commemorates the splendid heroism displayed by these troops and their comrades from Australia at Gallipoli, and, like them, they have since fought most gallantly in France and Flanders. In addition, New Zealand has also rendered financial aid, contributing no less than £4,543,244 to various war funds, and supporting a

total war expenditure of £46,304,860. Large consignments of foodstuffs, meat, and clothing have been sent to the Motherland.

What the Imperial Effort Means.

The inner significance of this splendid contribution has been summarised by General Smuts, who said (May 1, 1917, at the Guildhall):

"Of the sixty million white inhabitants of the British Empire one quarter live beyond the seas. Scattered far away over the whole globe, apparently having no interest in the struggles and feuds of old Europe, Germany counted on their apathy, perhaps on their disruption.

"Yet see what they have done, and done quite voluntarily. And why have they made their magnificent effort? Not to help the Mother Country, but to help the cause which is as much theirs as hers, the cause of Freedom, the desire of all nations to work out their own salvation, without coercion, without the terror inspired by an ever-growing, ever more insolent, threatening, and aggressive military autocracy. We shall never understand the real inwardness of the effort of the British Empire until we recognise that their fight is not for mere self-interest or mean, small issues, but for the greatest of all. It is because all realise that the greatest, most essential, and most fundamental interest of humanity is at stake, that the old cause for which millions have in all ages sacrificed their all once again is in danger; it is for this that you witness to-day this spontaneous uprising, not only among the nations of the British Empire, but of the world."

(b) The British Army.

In August, 1914, the British Land Forces comprised:—

Regulars	...	...	...	250,000
Reserves	...	...	...	200,000
Territorials (partly trained)	...			250,000
				<hr/>
				700,000
				<hr/>

The first Expeditionary Force of 160,000 arrived in France in mid-August, 1914, and took part in the famous retreat and recovery with decisive effect.

On August 8, 1914, Lord Kitchener asked for 100,000 volunteers. They were enrolled in less than a fortnight.

In the fifth week of the war 175,000 men enrolled—30,000 in a single day.

By July 31, 1915, 2,000,000 men had enlisted.

On May 25, 1916, King George, in his Message to his People, announced that 5,041,000 men had enrolled voluntarily in the Army and Navy.

There are more than 3,000,000 soldiers serving abroad on the various fronts.

The Minister of National Service stated in the House of Commons on January 14, 1918, that, under the one item of "provision of men for the armed forces of the Crown," the Empire had contributed 7,500,000 men since war broke out, viz.*:—

* Lord Curzon said, on July 29, 1918 (in Gray's Inn Hall), that Britain had raised more than 8,000,000 men for all the purposes of war.

Per cent.
of total.

England	4,500,000	60.0
Scotland	620,000	8.3
Wales	280,000	3.7
Ireland	170,000	2.3
Dominions & Colonies	900,000	12.0
India & Dependencies	1,030,000	13.7
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	7,500,000	100.0
	<hr/>	<hr/>

(c) The British Navy.

	August, 1914.	August, 1918.
Personnel	145,000 officers & men	450,000*
Tonnage employed in Naval service	2,500,000 tons	8,000,000 tons†

The 140,000 square nautical miles of the North Sea, an area larger than Germany, are patrolled incessantly, in all weathers.

In June, 1918 (to take a typical month), ships of the British Navy steamed 8,000,000 sea miles, over 330 times the circuit of the globe.‡

Whereas in 1915, 256 out of 1,400 ships eluded the patrol squadrons, at the end of 1916 only 60 out of 3,000 had escaped being intercepted. In one month of 1917, not a single vessel trading with neutral countries crossed the North Atlantic

* The personnel of the Navy and the Mercantile Marine together exceeds 1,500,000.

† Including the Auxiliary Fleet.

‡ Mr. Lloyd George in the House of Commons, August 7, 1918.

or Arctic Oceans without being held up and examined.

NAVAL CONSTRUCTION AND REPAIRS.

There are now 235 dry docks of considerable size in the British Isles, exclusive of Royal Naval Docks. These have handled 90 per cent. of the maximum tonnage within their capacity.

Four dockyards have been opened since war began.

Every month 1,100 merchant warships are docked.

In one month 1,000 warships have been completed or repaired.

TRANSPORT.

Since war broke out the Navy has been instrumental in transporting to the British Armies and to those of our Allies considerably in excess of the following figures:—

20,000,000 men.

2,000,000 horses and mules.

500,000 vehicles.

25,000,000 tons of explosives and supplies.

100,000,000 tons of coal and oil fuel.

The coal supplied to France and Belgium during the war period up to the end of June, 1918, amounted to 67,349,000 tons, and Italy received 20,633,000 tons.

In addition, 130,000,000 tons of food and other materials have been moved in British ships; including over 60 per cent. of the cereals that keep the armies and civil population of France alive.

Our Mercantile Marine is carrying 45 per cent. of the entire imports of France and of Italy.*

* See "Great Britain's Share" (N.W.A.C.).

(d) The Defeat of the Submarine.

One of the greatest achievements of the British Navy in the war has been what we can now confidently describe as the defeat of the U-boat. Over 150 enemy submarines have been destroyed, more than half during the twelve months ending August, 1918.*

Germany boasted that her submarines would bring Britain to her knees in six months. Britain still holds the seas; the transport of men and material for the use of her armies and of food for her civil population continues without interruption; and she is more resolved than ever to prosecute the war to a victorious end.

Germany boasted that her submarines would create a virtual blockade of the Allies, and prevent neutral vessels from sailing for Allied ports. In April, 1918, the number of vessels sunk by U-boats was hardly more than a third of those destroyed in April, 1917, while the tonnage of steamships of 500 gross tons and over entering and clearing United Kingdom ports amounted to 7,040,309.

Germany boasted that the Allies could find no effective reply to the submarine, and that she could build U-boats at such a rate as to give an increasing margin over all possible losses. According to an official statement of the British Admiralty, the Allied Navies in 1918 have sunk more U-boats than have been built, and the ratio of loss is increasing every month.

Germany boasted that the world's shipyards could not possibly keep pace with the destruction

* Mr. Lloyd George in the House of Commons, August 7, 1918.

caused by her submarines. From April, 1918, onwards the output of the world's merchant shipping has exceeded the losses due to all causes, and that output—particularly in British and American yards—is rapidly increasing. The British programme alone contemplates trebling, if not quadrupling, this year, the output of 1916.

Germany boasted that her submarines would prevent the transport of men and material from the United States to Europe, even if they did not finish the war before the United States had an army ready to be placed in the field. In August, 1918, more than 1,125,000 American troops had been despatched to Europe, and the strength of the American Army in France will be quadrupled by the end of the year. *Less than one American soldier in 3,000 has been killed by the U-boats.* On August 7, 1918, the total was less than 300.

Germany boasted that the unrestricted submarine campaign would secure an early peace and compel the Allies to accept any terms which she cared to offer. There are now *nine more nations at war with Germany* than there were when the "unrestricted" campaign began, and the resources of her enemies, both moral and material, show a greater predominance than they did before. The U-boats have not concluded the war in Germany's favour, but have drawn into the struggle against her nation after nation whose neutrality might otherwise have been maintained.

As Mr. Lloyd George has said:—

"The submarine is still a nuisance—it is no longer a peril—as a means of inflicting injury, as a means of absorbing energies which might be better devoted to other purposes, as a means of

restricting our power of transport, but as a danger which could cause the winning or losing of the war you can rule out the submarine. From that point of view we have definitely and, I think, successfully coped with the deadliest peril we have yet encountered."

(e) Finance.

Financially Britain has borne the full brunt of the war. Her national debt has increased from £645,000,000 to £7,980,000,000. More than 25 per cent. of this is being raised by taxation. Every day Great Britain is now spending from the Vote of Credit £6,986,000—a sum greater than her entire expenditure in a fortnight's time of peace. Her war expenditure by March, 1918, was £7,014,000,000. And Britain is paying much more than all her debt charges out of current taxation, while the new taxation raised in Germany is not enough to pay the interest accumulated upon the German War Debt.

The population of Germany is half as large again as that of Great Britain. For Germany's largest War Loan sums of one shilling and upwards were accepted, while in Britain the minimum subscription was 15s. 6d., and yet the record number of subscribers to the German War Loan was 5,279,000, as against 5,289,000 to the British Loan.

The prices of all commodities in Great Britain have enormously increased, and yet when the third British War Loan was issued, cash applications for 15s. 6d. War Savings Certificates, made by individuals too poor to subscribe to the Loan itself, amounted to £20,000,000.

Before the war the people of Great Britain paid about £200,000,000 a year by way of taxation; to-day they are paying taxes annually to the amount of £654,000,000. By the method of buying War Bonds continuously, instead of resorting to a special Loan, over £1,000,000,000 had been raised between October 1, 1917, and the middle of August, 1918.

Great Britain is now spending £1,861,000,000 a year on her Army, her Navy, her Air Services, and her munition factories and supplies, and yet she has advanced loans to her Allies and Dominions amounting in the aggregate to £1,610,500,000; £1,402,000,000 to the Allies, and £208,500,000 to the British Dominions.

(f) The Command of the Air.

When Germany hacked her way through Belgium her advance was led and directed by aeroplanes, which flew at the head of every marching column. Germany had hundreds of aeroplanes where other countries had tens.

Zeppelins, on which Germany had spent millions of pounds and years of experiment, were ready to drop bombs on any open town.

In every theatre of war the German superiority in the air was most marked, and threatened to continue, because of the ability of her factories, organised for war, to turn out ever-increasing numbers of standardised engines and machines.

To oppose to this concentration Great Britain had, in 1914, only 66 aeroplanes and 100 men belonging to the Royal Flying Corps, and 64

aeroplanes and 800 men in the Royal Naval Air Service. In all, 130 machines and fewer than 1,000 men, pilots, observers, and mechanics all told. To-day the two Services, naval and military, united under one administration as the Royal Air Force, number machines by the ten thousand, and men by the hundred thousand. The Navy alone has increased its aeronautical personnel from 800 to 46,000, its aeroplanes and seaplanes to over 2,500.

At the outbreak of war the Navy had only seven small non-rigid airships, no kite balloons, a little force contemptible indeed when compared with the German "lighter-than-air" fleet. But in March, 1915, the first British Submarine Scout (S.S.) airship was launched. Since that date construction has continuously developed. Rigid airships with a wide range of action have been built. Non-rigid airships have multiplied till the number of "lighter-than-air" craft reached last year the figure of 176. It is higher now. While the German Zeppelins are used to murder civilians, the British Naval Airship Scouts are put to the legitimate purpose of guarding our ships against German submarines.

The Naval patrol of our waters by our aircraft is ceaseless. More than 30,000 miles a week are covered by the flying patrols. But the task of keeping watch and ward is but one of the naval aircraft's duties, which include the engagement of the enemy's aircraft, the bombing of the enemy's ships, and the enemy's bases. Nowhere, from Heligoland to Ostend, from Zeebrugge to Bruges, are the Germans safe from the visitations of the naval planes, which are ever alert to fight the German forces on sea, on land, or in the air. On

the Western Front last year British naval planes accounted for 400 German machines.

To the flying men of the Army fell still heavier duties of patrolling, observing, photographing, bombing, fighting. Their more numerous opportunities of fighting are reflected in the higher numbers of their German victims. The figures of our airmen's successes rise week by week. During the opening phases of the great struggle of 1918 more than 400 German machines were put out of action. In a single week 208 enemy machines were destroyed, and 93 were driven down out of control.

With our offensive capacity our ability in defence has grown. The Zeppelin menace to open towns has been dissipated. Forty-nine Zeppelin raids took place between April 14, 1915, and October 19, 1917, but our aircraft defences and our attacking aeroplanes took such a toll of the raiders, destroying fourteen of them in 1916-1917, that the raids of the early type ceased. Another attempt made by the Germans with a new type of Zeppelin capable of navigating above our aircraft defences met with greater disaster. In the raid of October 17, 1917, twelve German raiders, flying at heights of 18,000-20,000 feet for safety, were caught helpless in a north-east current. Four came down in France, others were lost at sea, and three only got back to Germany. Meanwhile British aeroplane raids on Germany and the Rhine are increasing in number and effectiveness, and will increase.

In illustration of our increased industrial effort and organisation: British factories were making (in August, 1918) more aeroplanes *in a single week* than were made during the whole of 1914; in a

single month, more than were made in the whole of 1915; in a single quarter, more than were made in the whole of 1916.*

The Command of the Air, which exercises an increasing influence on war, has passed to the Allies from Germany, and will not be surrendered.

(g) Munitions.

The Ministry of Munitions was formed in June, 1915, to stimulate and control the production of war material, which was then very far below the requirements of the Army. It is now the largest of the Government Departments, with a personnel (in 1918) of 18,000, and controls many of the most important industries of the country, such as the iron, steel, and engineering trades, employing the labour of over 3,000,000 workers of both sexes. Firms engaged in work for the Ministry number over 10,000; Government factories have increased from 3 in 1914 to 150 in 1918; and Controlled Establishments, *i.e.*, private firms who have contracted to give precedence to Government work and to employ labour under conditions fixed by the Ministry, now number over 5,000.

The following table shows the comparative output in the first three years of the war:—

Ammunition.		1914-15.	1915-16.	1916-17.	1917-18.
For light guns	... ..	1	5	19	15
For medium guns	... ..	1	5	25	22
For heavy guns	... ..	1	6	70	400
For very heavy guns	... ..	1	21	220	280
Machine guns	... ..	1	12	39	70
Heavy guns and howitzers	... ..	1	5	27	40
Very heavy ditto	... ..	1	5	13	16
Steel (million tons)	... ..	7	9	10	10

* Sir Laming Worthington Evans, M.P., Financial Secretary to the Ministry of Munitions, in an article in "Overseas" for August, 1918.

The railways and mines of the United Kingdom, formerly the property of private companies, have been taken over and administered by the State for the duration of the war. Since the Ministry acquired full control of railway materials in October, 1916, 2,000 miles of track, 1,000 locomotives, and many thousands of wagons have been shipped abroad to the various theatres of war. Substantial economies have been effected by the co-ordination of the resources of different companies, the interchange of rolling stock, and the reduction of passenger traffic. Since January, 1917, more than 33,000 railwaymen have been transferred to the Army.

A special Department was appointed in 1917 to control the output and distribution of coal—a problem which presents special difficulties in view of the increased consumption by essential war industries, the shortage of skilled labour, and the dependence of our Allies on the British supply. The adjustment of rival claims and the regulation of prices is based on principles which exclude any profit to private interests in the country being made at the expense of Allied or neutral Governments.

(h) Women's Work.

About fifty thousand women have (by August, 1918) been enrolled in Queen Mary's Army Auxiliary Corps, of whom well over 6,500 are serving abroad, and more than 5,000 are waiting to be drafted overseas, and the remainder are employed at home. Among their principal duties are cooking, laundry, warehouse and clerical work, and the transport of men and material behind the lines.

On one occasion during the recent operations a detachment, which was found to be working within the danger zone, refused an offer of conveyance to a safer locality farther back. In the words of a recent report by the War Office, the Q.M.A.A.C. during the crisis have more than justified their existence, and have well maintained the credit of their sex and of the Army to which they belong.

Her Majesty the Queen has assumed the title of Commander-in-Chief of the Corps in recognition of its services.

Similar conditions and qualifications apply to the newly formed Women's Royal Naval Service (Wrens) and the Women's Royal Air Force (Penguins). Recruits must enrol for the period of the war, and be prepared to take up work wherever required. The popularity of the new service may be judged from the fact that on the opening day for recruiting (April 5, 1918) 2,000 applications were received by the first post.

(i) Medical Services.

Royal Army Medical Corps.	1914.	1917.
Officers	3,168	14,000
Other ranks	16,330	125,000

The medical service has continued to expand with the growth of the Army, and its strength is now much greater than that of the whole original Expeditionary Force. A large part of the civil medical profession has been mobilised, and is now serving with the armies in the field.

NURSES, ETC.

More than 17,000 women are employed as

nurses, and over 28,000 others are engaged in military hospitals on various forms of work.

HOSPITALS.

These in the United Kingdom now number more than 2,000, including the auxiliary military hospitals, with over 80,000 beds.

The war has been for medical science at once an opportunity and a renaissance. Experimental methods of surgery, dictated by necessity and no longer hampered by lack of funds, have led to discoveries of the first importance; and the constant pre-occupation with young and healthy subjects has favoured a new attitude towards organic disease, as something to be checked by preventive methods rather than cured when it has reached an advanced stage.

The efficiency of the British service is proved by the fact that during the first three years of the war the entire Expeditionary Force lost only 3,000 men by disease, as compared with 50,000 deaths from disease during the South African War.

The health of the troops at home and abroad (excluding admissions to hospital by reason of wounds) is actually better than it was in times of peace.

The Air Service has its own Medical Board, which includes men who have specialised in the study of air problems, such as the adaptation of the human organism to respiration at high altitudes. The number of fatal accidents and deaths from preventible causes during training has greatly diminished since the new arrangements came into force.

III.

PEACE AIMS.

I

GENERAL.

All this vast and unparalleled effort has one end in view, and one only—to achieve victory, not for world domination, but to “make the world safe for democracy” and achieve that freedom for all nations outlined in the preceding pages.

The Allied effort in the war, including the British effort, is concentrated on the single end of winning the war. Without victory none of the aims we have in view can possibly be achieved.

Behind the specific war aims, as defined above, in relation to the future position of such nations as Belgium, Poland, Serbia, Armenia, and so on, there lie principles which it is hoped to establish as *permanent foundations of world peace*. These we may call our “Peace Aims.”

Mr. Asquith, for instance (at Dublin, September 25, 1914), said:—

“Forty-four years ago, at the time of the war of 1870, Mr. Gladstone used these words. He said: ‘The greatest triumph of our time will be the enthronement of the idea of public right as the governing idea of European politics.’ Nearly fifty years have passed. Little progress, it seems, has as yet been made towards that good and beneficent change, but it seems to me to be now, at this moment, as good a definition as we can have of our European policy.

“The idea of public right—what does it mean

when translated into concrete terms? It means, first and foremost, the clearing of the ground by the definite repudiation of Militarism as the governing factor in the relation of States, and of the future moulding of the European world. It means, next, that room must be found and kept for the independent existence and the free development of the smaller nationalities, each with a corporate consciousness of its own. Belgium, Holland, Switzerland, the Scandinavian countries, Greece, and the Balkan States—they must be recognised as having exactly as good a title as their more powerful neighbours—more powerful in strength and in wealth—to a place in the sun. And it means, finally, or it ought to mean perhaps by slow and gradual process, the substitution for force, for the clash of competing ambition, for groupings and alliances, and a precarious equipoise, of a real European partnership based on the recognition of equal right, and established and enforced by a common will."

Similarly the Allies as a whole, speaking in their reply to President Wilson (January 10, 1917), defined a central aspect of their peace aims when they said:—

"In a general way they (the Allied Governments) desire to declare . . . their whole-hearted agreement with the proposal to create a League of Nations which shall assure peace and justice throughout the world. They recognise all the benefit which will accrue to the cause of humanity and civilisation from the institution of international arrangements designed to prevent violent conflicts between nations, and so framed as to provide the sanctions necessary to their enforce-

ment, lest an illusory security should serve merely to facilitate fresh acts of aggression."

References to the quotations from speeches by Mr. Lloyd George, Mr. Balfour, President Wilson, General Smuts, and others, including the British Labour War Aims, already quoted, will reveal definitions of the peace aims that lie beneath and behind the war aims of the leaders of democracy.

Four Peace Aims.

President Wilson defined his four peace aims in his reply to Count Czernin and Count von Hertling (Congress, February 11, 1918). He said:—

"First, that each part of the final settlement must be based upon the essential justice of that particular case and upon such adjustments as are most likely to bring a peace that will be permanent.

"Second, that peoples and provinces are not to be bartered about from sovereignty to sovereignty as if they were mere chattels and pawns in a game, even the great game, now for ever discredited, of the balance of power; but that

"Third, every territorial settlement involved in this war must be made in the interest and for the benefit of the populations concerned, and not as a part of any mere adjustment or compromise of claims amongst rival States; and

"Fourth, that all well-defined national aspirations shall be accorded the utmost satisfaction that can be accorded them without introducing new or perpetuating old elements of discord and antagonism that would be likely in time to break the peace of Europe and consequently of the world.

"A general peace erected upon such foundations can be discussed. Until such a peace can be secured we have no choice but to go on. So far

as we can judge, these principles that we regard as fundamental are already everywhere accepted as imperative except among the spokesmen of the military and annexationist party in Germany."

2

A LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

The support given by the Allied Note to the idea of a League of Nations and reiterated in many subsequent speeches, found expression in a pamphlet* on the League of Nations by Viscount Grey.

Viscount Grey wrote:—

"There is more at stake in this war than the existence of individual States or Empires, or the fate of a Continent; the whole of modern civilisation is at stake, and whether it will perish and be submerged, as has happened to previous civilisations of older types, or whether it will live and progress, depends upon whether the nations engaged in this war, and even those that are on-lookers, learn the lessons that the experience of the war may teach them. It must be with nations as with individuals; in the great trials of life they must become better or worse—they cannot stand still. They must learn and profit by experience and rise to greater heights, or else sink lower and drop eventually into the abyss. And this war is the greatest trial of which there is any record in history. If the war does not teach mankind new lessons that will so dominate the thought and feeling of those who survive it, and those who succeed the survivors, as to make new things possible, then the war will be the greatest catastrophe as well as the most grievous trial and suffering of which mankind has any record.

* Oxford University Press, 3d.

"Therefore it does not follow that a League of Nations to secure the peace of the world will remain impossible because it has not been possible hitherto.

"What are the conditions that have not been present before and that are present now, or may soon be present, and that are essential if the League of Nations is to become effective. These conditions appears to me to be as follows :

"1. The idea must be adopted with earnestness and conviction by the Executive Heads of States. It must become an essential part of their practical policy, one of their chief reasons for being or continuing to be responsible for the policy of their States. They must not adopt it only to render lip service to other persons, whom it is inconvenient or ungracious to displease. They must lead, and not follow ; they must compel if necessary, and not be compelled.

"The situation of this first condition essential to make the League of Nations practical may be summed up as follows : It is present certainly as regards the Executive Head of the United States, which is potentially the strongest and actually the least exhausted of all the belligerent States : it either is or will at the end of the war be found to be present as regards the Governments of other countries fighting on the same side as the United States. Even among their enemies Austria has publicly shown a disposition to accept the proposal, and probably welcomes it genuinely though secretly as a safeguard for her future, not only against old enemies, but against Prussian domination.

"All small States, belligerent or neutral, must naturally desire in their own interest everything that will safeguard small States as well as great from aggression and war.

Germany to be Convinced that "War Does Not Pay."

"There remains the opposition of Germany, where recent military success and the ascendancy of Prussian militarism have reduced the advocates of anything but force to silence. Germany has to be convinced that force does not pay, that the aims and policy of her military rulers inflict intolerable and also unnecessary suffering upon her; and that when the world is free from the menace of these military rulers, with their sharp swords, shining armour, and mailed fists, Germany will find peaceful development assured and preferable to expansion by war, and will realise that the condition of true security for one nation is a sense of security on the part of all nations.

"2. The second condition essential to the foundation and maintenance of a League of Nations is that the Governments and Peoples of the States willing to found it understand clearly that it will impose some limitation upon the national action of each, and may entail some inconvenient obligation. The smaller and weaker nations will have rights that must be respected and upheld by the League. The stronger nations must forego the right to make their interests prevail against the weaker by force: and all the States must forego the right in any dispute to resort to force before other methods of settlement by conference, conciliation, or, if need be, arbitration, have been tried. This is the limitation.

"The obligation is that if any nation will not observe this limitation upon its national action; if it breaks the agreement which is the basis of the League, rejects all peaceful methods of settlement and resorts to force, the other nations must one and all use their combined force against it.

"Are the Nations of the world prepared now, or will they be ready after this war, to look steadily and clearly at this aspect of the League of Nations, at the limitations and obligations that it will impose, and to say whole-hearted and convinced as they have never been before, 'We will accept and undertake them?'"

"The establishment and maintenance of a League of Nations, such as President Wilson has advocated, is more important and essential to a secure peace than any of the actual terms of peace that may conclude the war: it will transcend them all. The best of them will be worth little, unless the future relations of States are to be on a basis that will prevent a recurrence of militarism in any State."

The British Government's View.

Lord Curzon, speaking on behalf of the British Government in the House of Lords (June 26, 1918), in the week following the production of Viscount Grey's pamphlet, said:—

"The idea of a League of Nations is very familiar to students of the past. It has played a great part in the thought and literature of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and has been advocated by many authoritative and learned men. It has also been tried in practice. We have had at different times in history a number of Leagues of Nations, the last of which, the famous Holy Alliance of 1815, foundered ingloriously upon the rocks for reasons with which we are all familiar. In spite of all these failures the conception has steadily survived, and I do not think it an exaggeration to say that to the principle the great majority of thinking men in all nations are converts. The conversion of the world has been no

doubt hastened by the intolerable cruelties and sufferings of the present war. Man's spirit revolts against the repetition of those atrocities and crimes and the sufferings which we, or those who are dear to us, experienced in this generation, and from which we are hopeful that those who follow us may be relieved. Hence it is true that the idea of a League of Nations has acquired fresh vitality and force from the incidents of this war.

"In the reply of the Allies to President Wilson on January 10, 1917, there appeared the following passage, which I quote as covering a much wider area, and therefore carrying a much greater authority than the individual utterances of statesmen: 'The Allies said they associated themselves whole-heartedly with the plan to create a League of Nations to ensure peace and justice throughout the world.'

"I have been told that it is our sole duty at the present time to fight and not to talk, and that we do not shorten by a single hour the duration of the war by giving encouragement to the views of idealists, however exalted. I do not think these considerations, however weighty, are decisive. I can see no reason why, even while the war is lasting, we should not discuss the machinery which ought to be called into existence after the war, and why we should not, even now, explore the avenues which may in the future prevent a recurrence of such a crime.

The Existing League of the British Nations.

"To a large extent a League of Nations is already in existence, or rather there are two Leagues of Nations in existence at this moment. The first is the League of the British Empire,

comprising something like 450,000,000 of people, or one quarter of the entire population of the globe. No fresh constitution is required to call that League into being. Its governing body is already in existence, and is sitting in London in the shape of the Imperial War Cabinet. There are the statesmen from all parts of the world, representing the views, the aspirations, and the hopes of this great aggregation of mankind. There is also the League of the Allied Nations, who have combined together to resist the militarism of Germany. Those States number between twenty and thirty. There is in existence at Paris the machinery by which the representatives of the four most important of these States—Great Britain, France, Italy, and the United States—already take common action in respect of military matters, finance, shipping, and food. This League possesses its own armaments. Those armaments have actually been placed under a single commander. The organisation is happily elastic. It has been a good deal perfected in recent times, and it may develop into something larger in the future.

“In the last resort you must contemplate the use of force; in other words, you must contemplate having some sort of sanction in the background. That is the new element in the situation which differentiates these proposals from earlier schemes for an extended settlement of international dispute by arbitration alone. The kind of cases for which you want this new body are the cases which the noble viscount described to us—the kind of case which there is no existing law to decide, which are outside the scope of international jurisprudence as laid down in definite rules, the kind of cases in which the honour or sentiment or the political ambition of a State are engaged, and

which have in history, as we all know, been the most prolific sources of war. In these schemes I find a general concurrence in certain features. Firstly, in the institution of a court, or conference, or tribunal, to which all the signatory parties pledge themselves to refer their disputes before going to war; secondly, the imposition of a *moratorium* for delay pending decision, during which no hostilities are to be permitted, and any Power commencing or continuing hostilities is to be regarded as an offending party; and, thirdly, the existence of a sanction for enforcing the decrees of the supreme body.

"There are two propositions to which I should like to ask your lordships' assent. In the first place, we want to do something to prevent wars, or, if that is too Utopian an aspiration, to limit their scope and to diminish their horrors in future. For this purpose a general concurrence of nations is necessary; and if it is to be effective it ought ultimately to include all the important States of the world. Secondly, I believe it to be true that opinion in this country is rather in advance of the opinion of any of our Allies, except, possibly, the United States. I would, therefore, remind the House that it would be well that we should not go ahead too quickly or too abruptly, or we may incur a rebuff. We must try to get some alliance; or confederation, or conference to which these States shall belong, and no State in which shall be at liberty to go to war without reference or arbitration, or to a conference of the League, in the first place. Then if a State breaks the contract it will become, *ipso facto*, at war with the other States in the League, and they will support each other, without any need for an international police, in punishing or in repairing the breach of contract. Some of them may do it by economic

pressure. This may apply perhaps to the smaller States. The larger and more powerful States may do it by the direct use of naval and military force. In this way we may not indeed abolish war, but we can render it a good deal more difficult in the future. These are the only safe and practicable lines at present, and the lines upon which the Government are disposed to proceed."

The Conditions of Peace.

Mr. Lloyd George at Manchester on September 12, 1918, asked:

"What are the conditions of a just and desirable peace? The first indispensable condition, in my judgment, is that civilisation should establish beyond doubt its power to enforce its decrees. As long as there is doubt left in the mind of either the offender or the defender of the irresistible character of this power once it is challenged, this war will not have achieved its purpose. Victory is essential to sound peace. The Prussian military power must not only be beaten, but Germany itself must know it. The German people must know that if their rulers outrage the law of nations the Prussian military strength cannot protect them from punishment. There is no right you can establish, national or international, unless you establish the fact that the man who breaks the law will meet inevitable punishment. Unless this is accomplished the loss, the sufferings, and the burdens of this war will have been in vain. We shall have to repeat the horror, our children will have to repeat the horror, of war.

"Do you realise what this war means? We went into it with an equipment which every soldier regarded as perfectly adequate. So it was to

every conception of war that had been formed. What has happened? Discoveries have been made in the art of destruction which if we had only time to perfect them would simply destroy and crash civilisation from the face of the globe. You can see now what these weapons of war are. High explosives, powerful artillery that had never taken a battlefield before, cities bombarded at a distance of 70 or 80 miles—and there is no reason why it should not be a hundred—bombarding aeroplanes getting more and more powerful and more and more destructive, submarines, poison in the air; that is the result of three or four years of intense thought and human ingenuity. Give a man that most terrible of all things, give him 20 or 30 years of concentrated thought on these lines, and what is to happen to following generations? This must be the last war. The last, or, believe me—I have been studying all this machinery of war for months as a business and for years as a part of my business—believe me, if this is not the last war there are men here to-day who will see the last of civilisation. That is why in all earnestness I want to say to those who have the same horror of war as I have, who would like to see any rational means of bringing this madness to an end, do not let us be misled into the belief that the establishment of a League of Nations without power will in itself secure the world against that catastrophe. A League of Nations with a Prussian military power triumphant! Why, it would be a league of fox and geese—one fox and many geese, many at first, then gradually diminishing in number. Read the Brest-Litovsk Treaty. Poland was once a greater nation than Prussia, and in its day as great as France. The Teuton has absorbed it. Unless there is victory the plans for the new world on

which we hope to see the dawn bursting—those plans might as well be shelved. I tell you the best time, the best thought, the best energy, the best resources of a nation devoted to averting conflict or preparing for it are useless unless you stamp out for all time the rule of brute force which has challenged humanity in this war.

THE BREST-LITOVSK TREATY.

“I am for a League of Nations. In fact, the League of Nations has begun. The British Empire is a League of Nations. The Allied countries who are fighting the battle of international right are all a League of Nations. If, after the war, Germany repudiates and condemns her perfidy, or, rather, the perfidy of her rulers, then a Germany freed from military domination will be welcome into the great League of Nations, but the only sure foundation is a complete victory for the cause of justice and international freedom which the Allied nations are now carrying along the road of triumph through barbed-wire entanglements, deep implacements, and the serried ranks of a redoubtable foe. There have been other terms which have been indicated. I have stated them repeatedly on behalf of the British nation. They were so moderate as to command even the support of the whole of the trade union labour representatives of this country. President Wilson has stated them from time to time, and we stand by them. It must be a peace that will lend itself to the common sense and conscience of the nation as a whole. It must not be dictated by extreme men on either side. You cannot allow the Bolsheviks to force on us a peace so humiliating as to dishonour and to make a repetition of the horrors of this war inevitable. Nor can we allow Chauvinists to impose terms that will leave a stain

upon the conscience of the Allied people and subject them to the inevitable punishment that wrongdoing brings in its train. We must not arm Germany with a real wrong. In other words, we shall neither accept ourselves nor impose upon our friends a Brest-Litovsk Treaty. . . . We must be ready as soon as the unseen hand casts the rainbow of peace on the sky. And to be ready is summarised in one word—we must profit by the lessons of the war.

THE BRITISH EMPIRE'S SOLIDARITY.

“The first lesson it has taught is the immense importance of maintaining the solidarity of the British Empire. It has rendered service to humanity the magnitude of which will appear greater and greater as this generation recedes into the past. It helped to stop the rush of barbarism that was sweeping over Europe. It has held the unfenced highways of the world free for the armies of freedom to pass and repass. The British Empire alone could not have accomplished that object. This Empire has never been such a power for good. To suggest that such an organisation could fall to pieces after the war would be a crime against civilisation. The Empire will not have survived all its troubles even after this war is over. The British Empire will be needed after peace to keep wrongs in check. Its mere word will count more next time than it did the last. For the enemy know now what they have got to deal with. But it must be there to give the word, and to ensure that it will be there not only to develop, strengthen and enrich, but, above all, to unite must be the task of statesmen throughout the world. What has to be accomplished in the way of achieving practical unity still has to be done to make the Empire a

more concentrated and solid force than it is at the present moment.

“What is the next great lesson of the war? It is that if Britain has to be thoroughly equipped to meet any emergencies of either war or peace it must take a more constant and a more intelligent interest in the health and fitness of the people. If the Empire is to be equal to its task the men and women who make it up must be equal to it. . . . I solemnly warn my fellow-countrymen that you cannot maintain an A1 Empire with a C3 population.”

3

THE GOAL.

Whether the world after the war is to be in the nature of a vast prison for the soul of humanity, or an open temple of liberty, depends on the issue of the present conflict more than on any other ponderable factor.

The record of the war fate of Belgium and Northern France, of Serbia and Rumania, and the Western marches of what was and will again be Russia; the whole story of the murder of civilians, the breaches of international law and the contraventions of all humane usage; the unrestricted submarine warfare, the war on hospital ships—all these have combined to convince the world-jury of humanity that no world “safe for democracy” can be built if Prussian militarism and Pan-German arrogance remain dominant in Europe. The free peoples cannot reconstruct their civilisation in the “back gardens” of the nations if all their resources have to be centred on the

defence of the front doors from the aggression of Germany.

The central lesson of 1918, therefore, which has been driven home to the world by the cynical exploitation of defenceless Russia, followed by the threat to the world conveyed in the effort of the enemy's Spring offensive on the Western front, is that in 1919 and, if need be, in the years to follow it, the Allies must, by unity of aim and tenacity of will, carry the war through to a triumphant issue. Britain must continue to play her part in an increasing degree by continuing to place at the disposal of the cause as a whole her resources of will and energy, of finance and shipping and men, her Army and Navy and industry, until the battle of freedom is won and the nations advance together into the new and spacious ways of peace.

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